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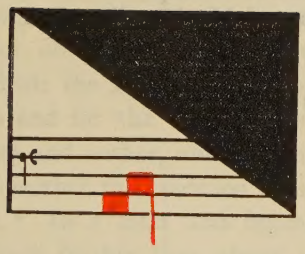

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SAINT BERNARD AND THE *INSTITUTA PATRUM* OF SAINT GALL

S. A. VAN DIJK (*Oxford*)

There are not many books which modern research has so robbed of their authority as the *Instituta Patrum de modo psallendi* of St. Gall. When it was published by Martin Gerbert in 1784,[1] either from the only known manuscript preserved in the Stiftsbibliothek of St. Gall or from the edition of J. M. Tommasi,[2] it was given the third place in the chronological series of musical treatises, thus entering the learned world as a work of the fourth century. Gerbert had no better arguments for his point of view than some references to the Fathers: *Sancti Patres nostri antiqui docuerunt et instituerunt; Hec de gremio sanctorum Patrum collegimus*,[3] etc., references which he took too literally for the ancient ecclesiastical writers of the patristic age instead of for abbots and liturgical authorities esteemed by the author and his contemporaries. Also for obvious reasons of internal criticism, Gerbert's opinion was soon abolished: the *Instituta* became an ancient code of liturgical music, written in and for the Benedictine monastery of St. Gall. Little was said about date and author, until recently Jos. Smits van Waesberghe pointed out that neither the tradition of nor the veneration for this document are justified.[4] In a clear and ingenious way he proved that the treatise cannot go back further than about 1200 and that it probably is the work of Ekkehard V, author of a long-winded, almost insignificant life of Notker Balbulus, concocted with the skill of an artist in words. The similarity of style and the facts that both works occur in the same manuscript, written almost entirely by one hand which, moreover, made several marginal notes, agreeing in style with the main text, all this has been explained in such a way that the argument as a whole convinces the

[1] « De cantu et musica sacra », I, 5 ff.

[2] *Opera omnia*, ed. A. F. Vezzosi, Rome, 1754, vol. IV, 353 ff.

[3] Gerbert, *loc. cit.*, 5ª, 8ª.

[4] « Verklaring der lettertekens (Litterae significativae) in het Gregoriaansche neumenschrift van Sint Gallen » in *Muziekgeschiedenis der Middeleeuwen*, II, Tilburg (Holland), 1939-42, 197 ff.

most critical historian. Finally, if the *Vita* of Notker is Ekkehard's holograph — as is commonly accepted — every problem of date and authorship seems settled.

Van Waesberghe's explanations centred my attention on the *Instituta* which I consulted for a paper about the shortening of the divine Office and the consequent change of psalm singing.[5] I fully agree with van Waesberghe that the almost exaggerated tone and the flourished style cannot hide a certain internal weakness. Yet, some difficulties remain. It is, for instance, less easy to convince oneself that the importance with which the whole is imbued can be ascribed to mere verbosity, pedantry and the paternal teaching of a zealous, old, monastic official. Ekkehard was dean of St. Gall; even so, he could not have written in the way he actually did without instruction or authorisation from superiors. With the experience of his age he must have known that telling the new generation how well the Office was performed in the good old days did not excuse him from prudence and restraint in style. Majestic plurals, such as *ammonemus*, *caveamus*, etc., were quite permissable. As an elder man he could even permit himself to cry down and ridicule the new-comers, to regard their ideas as the cause of occasional quarrels in choir. But he had no right to use terms like *statuimus*, *observanda mandamus*. And unless he knew that the abbot and the cantor were there to support him, he would not have dared to conclude his treatise with a sentence like this:[6]

> Qui ergo hanc regulam institutionis nostrae transgredi temere praesumpserit et violare, tam graviter puniatur ut caeteri metum habeant et emendentur.

The *Instituta*, therefore, is at least a semi-official document, composed by one of the old generation which passed through difficulties and discussions similar to those at Farfa at the beginning of the twelfth century. Here, after the peace between pope and emperor, when the monks returned to their monastery, the younger ones were no longer content with the traditional usages of singing.[7] The chronicler, recalling the good old days, is far from sparing with his vocabulary: They despised *cantuum neumae* and customary *organa*, and tried to sing not in religious gravity but *histrionum more*. They were full of trifling songs (*neniae*) and foreign melodies; wanted to practice what they had heard and seen abroad, *levitates* and *extollentiae*,

[5] « Historical liturgy and liturgical history » in *Dominican Studies*, II, Oxford, 1949, 161 ff.

[6] Gerbert, *loc. cit.*, 8a.

[7] Gregory of Catino, « Historiae Farfenses, » ad ann. 1122, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, XI, 583.

rather than the customs of Farfa. The same spirit of the time had also penetrated the walls of St. Gall, somewhat later indeed, for life had been less turbulent there. But so it was, and the author of the *Instituta* knew that his position in the monastery was strong: after the phrase announcing the punitive expedition against the unwilling, he wrote: [8]

Histrionicas voces, garrulas, alpinas sive montanas, tonitruantes vel sibilantes, hinnientes velut asina, mugientes seu ballantes quasi pecora, sive femineas omnemque falsitatem, iactantiam seu novitatem detestemur et prohibeamus in choris nostris.

Was this a wish or a law ?

Indeed, this passage gives the impression of being written by an expert stylist but it may have been true that he expressed what he actually heard. The older generation must have been unable to digest the new and complex sounds: their ears tingled with them, even in England, where Aelred, abbot of Rievaulx, inveighed against the same things:[9]

Hic succinit, ille discinit, alter medias quasdam notas dividit et incidit.... Aliquando, quod pudet dicere, in equinos hinnitus cogitur, aliquando virili vigore deposito, in femineae vocis gracilitate acuitur, nonnumquam artificiosa quadam circumvolutione torquetur et retorquetur.... Et haec ridiculosa dissolutio vocatur religio et ubi haec frequentius agitantur, ibi Deus honorabilius servire clamatur.

It was the first time that in the West the music of the Church was influenced by the secular chant. And, of course, many were shocked. First of all those who were no experts; among these there were Aelred and the author of the *Instituta.* They wrote without the knowledge of a musician or a chanter — *Musicorum et cantorum magna est distantia* — but with sympathy for and experience of the good old days. And with this it was quite possible for the latter to write his notes on the customary method of psalmody which actually go under the pompous name of « The institutions of the Fathers ». Yet, for the very reason that he was no expert, it is hard to believe that they came out of his own bag. The Fathers must have provided the framework which he embelished with his own stylistic flowers. It maybe that his explanations appear to be awkward in certain points, while the matter in itself seems rather obvious. But something has to be kept in mind. The medieval technique of singing and its ter-

[8] Gerbert, *loc. cit.*

[9] « Speculum caritatis », lib. II, cap. 23; *PL* 195, 571; see also my « Quaestiones quaedam scholasticae de Officio divino et cantu ecclesiastico » in *Ephemerides liturgicae*, LVI, Rome, 1942, 14.

minology are very much an enigma for us and the *Instituta* has no forerunner of its kind. Moreover, terminology was queer, even in official documents. Observing, for instance, how the « excess of voices » dishonoured the Cistercian Order, although of old[10] the Fathers had prescribed that *mediocritas* should be observed, the general Chapter of 1258 [11] did not recommend the golden mean between the too slow and too speedy,[12] nor object against too great an enthusiasm

Ut boves in pratis, sic vos in choro boatis.

Instead it criticized repeated attempts to introduce a form of polyphony.[12a]

[10] With reference to the still unsolved problem of the Gregorian rhythmics, Van Waesberghe (« De Luiksche muziekschool » in *Muziekgeschiedenis der Middeleeuwen*, I, Tilburg s. a., 138 ff.) believes that according to the medieval philology the expression *antiquitus* can only be understood of the ancient antiquity of the Greek theory. This assertion is at least misleading. Neither *antiquitus* nor *antiquus* had ever such a definite meaning. It was « old » and nothing more. The *Vocabularium bibliae* of William Brito, O.F.M., used *antiquitus* for the Classics and the primitive Church (s. v. Feria): « diem solempnem antiquitus feriam appellabant quia feriabant, i. e. cessabant, ab operibus servilibus »; (s. v. Sanctus) Sancti quod sanguine tincti dicebantur antiquitus »; Oxford, Bodleian library, Rawl. C. 896, fol. 103r, 273v. To the primitive Church refers also the *Ordo Romanus* XIII; *PL* 78, 1122, but in the unpublished Proper of the Saints of the same *Ordo*, Paris, bibl. de l'Arsénal, lat. 526, fol. 101v, *antiquitus* refers to a custom concerning the feast of St. Nicholas which was abolished at the most half a century before. — The *Consuetudines* of St Germain's, Paris, remind the reader that the feast of St. Benet « solebat celebrari antiquitus » like that of St. Peter's Chains; « sed nunc est festum in parvis cappis »: E. Martène, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus*, lib. IV, cap. 4, n. 9, 12; ed. Bassano 1788, 191b. Innocent III, *Regesta* (suppl.), *PL* 217, 66, reminds the dean and canons of Reims that they had to live in community according to an *antiquitus consuetudo*. Cosmas of Prague continued an *antiquitus* chronicle which described events up to his lifetime; *PL* 166, 120. — Albert the Great (*In libros sententiarum*) quoted constantly *antiqui*, who were the scholastics of his century. — The *Anonymous* IV, of Coussemaker I, 327, treated about the polyphony « prout antiqui tractaverunt, ut magister Leo et alii ». A detail in the notation of the modal discant was done in a different way by the « antiqui qui antiquitus solebant », *loc. cit.*, 333b. James of Liège, lib. VII, cap. 3, *loc. cit.*, 386, stated that the term discant antiquitus de organo duplo dicebatur, in quo non sunt nisi duo cantus »; etc.

[11] Canivez, *Statuta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Cisterciensium*, II, 435, n. 2.

[12] Anselm of Havelberg, *Liber de Ordine canonicorum*, cap. 20; *PL* 188, 1107: « In psalmodia hoc annoto, ut mediocriter, id est neque nimis correpte neque nimis protracte, tamen cum distinctione ac tonatim, fiat... ».

[12a] Some of these attempts have been preserved in a 13th-cent. gradual of Hauterive (Switzerl.), Oxford, Bodleian library, Lat. liturg. d. 5 (S.C. 32556), fol. 104, 107v, 127, 128.

And we would not have known it, had not a statute of 1134 been so explicit with the *mediocris vox*: it was the opposite of a very special *dissolutio*,[13] namely:[14]

> ...more femineo tinnulis vel, ut vulgo dicitur, falsis vocibus velut histrionicam imitari lasciviam.

Many late medieval choirs seem to have sinned against this kind of *mediocritas*. The author of the *Instituta* is not in the least mediocre in his criticism.

Meanwhile, one thing may be kept for certain: the awkward terminology as well as the far-fetched criticism were partly due to the works of the Fathers on which the *Instituta* depends. Since the value of this treatise probably stands or falls with that of its sources, it is important to know them. And there is at least one instance in which a long passage is unmistakably dependent on another text. Comparison shows not only how skilful the author's paraphrase is but also that his work has a history.

The source goes under the name of St. Bernard. The most explicit testimony is that of cardinal John Bona, the famous seventeenth-century liturgist, who quotes the text as an *antiquissimum statutum* which the Saint left his disciples (B).[15]

The Carthusian Denys van Leuwe called it a Carthusian *institutio* (D)[16] which is true in so far as it is to be found in the ancient constitutions of his Order but here too the text (E)[17] is connected with St. Bernard. It follows a long and explicit quotation from his 47th sermon *Super Canticum Canticorum*.[18] Yet, the passage actually under discussion is not to be found in the works of St. Bernard nor have I located it among the ancient Cistercian documents. On the other hand, the records are so definite as regards the authorship that one may rightly speak of a tradition, yet allowing for the usual liberties.

[13] In Bernard de Bess, O.F.M., *Speculum disciplinae*, lib. I, cap. 15; Bonaventura, *Opera omnia*, VIII, ed. Quaracchi, 596, n. 6, *dissolutio* is the opposite of *mediocritas*.

[14] Canivez, *op. cit.*, I, 30, n. 73.

[15] « De divina psalmodia », cap. 17, § 5; *Opera omnia*, ed. Antwerp 1723, 540.

[16] « Contra inordinationem detestabilem cordis in Dei laudibus » in *Opuscula aliqua quae ad theologiam mysticam egregie instituunt*, Monsterolii 1894, 613.

[17] *Dist.*, I, cap. 39.

[18] *PL* 183, 1011.

In addition to these later editions, the original has been preserved in several manuscripts. I found it in:

a fifteenth-century codex of Padua, now in the Bodleian library, Oxford, Canonic.. Patr. lat. 223, fol 289v: *Institutio bernardi abbatis quomodo psallere debeamus* (O);[19]

a somewhat earlier English copy of John Beleth's treatise of the Mass, preserved in the British Museum, Harley 5235, fol 127: *Modus canendi secundum Bernardum* (H);

a fourteenth-century miscellaneous manuscript, British Museum, Add. 16975, fol. 162r: *Modus psallendi in choro* (A);

a heavily interpolated form in British Museum, Royal 5. A. VI, fol. 30v-31r: *Regula sancti Bernardi de modo psallendi et cantandi in ecclesia*;[20]

a neat but mutilated addition on the fly leaf of a thirteenth-century manuscript of Ramsey abbey, British Museum, Royal 8. D. III, fol. 1v;

an addition in the thirteenth-century ordinal of Sarum, published by W. H. Frere (S);[21]

an early fourteenth-century Benedictine ceremonial of Subiaco, edited by Allodi (C)[22] and reprinted from a later codex by Br. Albers. From this text especially one would draw the conclusion that the authenticity of the original is rather doubtful. The author of this ceremonial is fairly accurate and often refers to his sources. St. Bernard's *optima formula* for the performance of the divine Office, he states, is only « partly to be found in his *Super Canticum* ». In fact, the first half of his text is that also quoted

[19] S. C. 19209; the codex was written in the second half of the century by two different hands but the gathering of fol. 284-93 is of a quite different content and written by a third hand: N. Italian humanistic characters.

[20] I abstain from giving all the variants. The most important changes and interpolations are as follows: Venerabilis sanctus Bernardus constituit et precepit hanc formam cantandi et psallendi in ecclesia teneri affirmans deo placere et angelis dicens: Psalmodiam non nimium protrahamus. < devote cantemus. distincte legamus. manifeste psalmodiamus. > punctum nullus... auscultando. < Unusquisque psallendo. legendo et etiam in eundo in choro ordinate et honeste se habeat ad preceptum precentoris obediat. Nullus alium in legendo sive cantando culpare sive deridere presumat. sed privatim et prudenter corrigat. > Quicumque autem incipit < officium aut Kyrie et gradale aut > Alleluia aut... incipiant. unus incipiat antiph. et alius intonabit psalmum et lumen semper sit fixum in ara. < Precentor in cantando ita sibi provideat. ut sua vox aliorum vocibus modulatio fiat. In choro autem inter clericos nullum fiat murmur. nulla habeant colloquia. nisi necessaria et ad divina officia pertinentia. aut antiphonas aut responsoria aut hymnos aut Alleluia aut aliquod aliud quod in choro cantamus. > In clausulis... in diebus festivis.

[21] *The Use of Sarum*, I. *The Sarum customs*, Cambridge, 1898, 36.

[22] Cap. VII; Subiaco, 1902, 11.

in the Carthusian constitutions; the second part however, i. e. the text under discussion, is given without any further reference.

Except for a few variants the comparison between the text ascribed to St. Bernard and that of the *Instituta* offers little difficulty:

(Ps) St. Bernard	Instituta Patrum
	Omni tempore, aestate vel hyeme, nocte ac die solempni sive privato, *psalmodia* semper pari voce, aequa lance *non nimis protrahatur*, sed mediocri voce, non nimis velociter *sed rotunde*, virili, *viva et* succincta *voce* psallatur; syllabas, verba, *metrum* in medio *et* in *finem* [sic] *versus*, id est initium, medium et finem *simul* incipiamus et pariter *dimittamus*. *Punctum* aequaliter teneant omnes.
Psalmodiam non nimium protrahamus, sed rotunde et viva voce cantemus. Metrum et finem versus simul intonemus et simul dimittamus. Punctum nullus teneat, sed cito dimittat.	In omni textu lectionis, psalmodiae vel cantus accentus sive concentus verborum, in quantum suppetit facultas, non negligatur, quia exinde permaxima redolet intellectus.
	Scire debet omnis cantor quod litterae quae liquescunt in metrica arte, etiam in neumis musicae artis liquescunt.
	Ammonemus itaque ut una aspiratione sive uno anhelitu usque ad punctum rhythmice vel metrice psallamus; *post* medium *metrum* modica modulatione peracta, *pausam bonam* et competentem *faciamus*. Facta pausa, quod de versu restat morosiori modulatione deponatur, salvo tono. Sicque omnis modulatio psalmodiae sive cantus rotundetur et terminetur, ut finis inveniat suum exordium secundum illud: Rota volvitur ducendo, in suum pristinum reducitur volvendo.
Post metrum bonam pausam faciamus.	
Nullus ante alios incipere	*Nullus ante alios* aut post *incipere* in versu vel cantu, verba cantata reiterare *vel nimis* discorditer festinare, praesumptiori vel altiori, remissiori an graviori, id est sursum vel iussum, tardiori vel velociori voce, *aut post alios* diutius *protrahere vel punctum tenere praesumat*. Una qualitate *cantemus, simul pausemus, semper auscultando*. Si morose cantamus, longior pausa fiat, si propere, brevior: semper in psalmodia punctus et pausa teneantur.
et nimis currere presumat aut post alios trahere vel punctum tenere: simul cantemus, simul pausemus, semper auscultando.	
	Quomodo ergo toni deponantur in finalibus...
	Dum hymnos vel responsoria sive antiph....
	Omnem igitur cantum sive psalmodiam, si morose...
	Si duo simul cantent, syllabas et pausam...

(Variants of the first column) nimium] multum C D E; nimis S rotunde] rotunda C D E rotunde et] *om.* A sed... dimittamus] *om.* S metrum] punctum C D E
alios] alium C H S et] aut D nimis]*om.* H praesumat] *om.* C H post alios < nimium > D E O S; < pneuma > B trahere < presumat > C H tenere < sed > H semper < in > E

Quicumque incipit antiphonam aut psalmum, hymnum, responsorium, Alleluia, unam aut duas partes solus tractim dicat, aliis tacentibus. Et ab eo loco quo ille dimittit, alii incipiant, non repetentes quod ille dixit.

Similiter fiat dum cantor reincipit antiphonam, Alleluia et responsoria.

Hoc ubique servetur ne alter redicat quod ab altero dictum est.

Quicumque imponit *antiphonam* vel responsorium, *psalmum* aut *hymnum*, introitus aut graduale, tractum sive *Alleluia*, seu quidquid incipit, duas vel tres syllabas an *unam* syllabam et *duas aut* tres notulas imponat *solus tractim, aliis tacentibus. Et ab eo loco quo* intonans *dimisit*, caeteri inchoent subsequentes, *non repetendo quod ille* praecinuit.

Similiter observetur *cum cantor* imponit aliquid vel *reincipit* seu quemcumque cantum pronuntiat, chorus concordi melo subsequatur voce unanimi.

The addition in the Sarum Ordinary (S) begins with a slightly different version of the last sentence but two (*Quicumque...*). It deals with intonation of the psalms and lacks the words *repetentes quod ille dixit.* Then follows a short introduction to the main text:

Praeterea quisque clericus se gerat sic in ecclesia... ut servet modum qui canendi Deo et angelis placet et corda quorundam audiencium ad devotionem trahit, teste Bernardo qui ait: Psalmodiam...

This introduction is apparently adapted from another, similar to that to be found in the London (A H)[23] and Oxford (O) manuscripts. Here one reads:[24]

Venerabilis pater (noster) sanctus Bernardus abbas clarevallis precepit monachis suis hanc formam canendi tenere, affirmans hoc Deo placere et angelis, ita dicens: Psalmodiam....

In these manuscripts, moreover, the last part *Similiter* etc. ends with a phrase which underlies the seventh paragraph of the *Instituta*:

[23] For the text of Royal 5. A. VI, see note 20.

[24] noster] *om.* H clarevall.] claravall. O suis] *om.* A hanc] *om.* O canendi] *om.* H Deo placere] modo placere deo H

(Ps.) St. Bernard [25]	Instituta Patrum
Cum autem hymnum, antiphonam, Alleluia aut responsorium cantamus,	*Dum humnos vel responsoria* sive *antiphonas* seu *Alleluia*, Kyrieleison, Sanctus an Agnus Dei, quaecumque pulchra, suavia ac dulcia et iocunde sonant, in his punctum bene discernendo, notulas *decantemus et in clausulis* pausam faciendo *aliquantulum expectemus* et hoc *maxime in festivis diebus.*
in clausulis expectemus, maxime in festivis diebus.	

Quicumque < autem > A psalmum < aut > A O hymnum < aut > A O respons. < aut > A O hymnum... Alleluia] aut R aut Alla. aut hympnum H tractim] *om.* B; tractatim A ille[1]] *om.* S ille[2]] iam B; < iam > H O dimittit] dimittat H non repetentes... dixit] cantare S

Quicumque... dixit] *om.* C D E

Though the authorship of St. Bernard has not yet been established and probably never will be, the character of the text underlying the *Instituta* is unmistakably Cistercian. Like so many monastic writings of the first half of the twelfth century, it is full of the criticism against Cluny. It is conceived and written in the spirit of reaction which is typical of the early Cistercian statutes with their continuous prohibition of additional psalms, prayers and prostrations, of precious vessels, books and vestments, of luxurious tapestry and furs, portable altars, stained glass and sculpture. This new psalmody too is based on negative rules, i.e. on what is not to be done: *non nimis protrahamus... punctum nullus teneat... nullus ante alios incipere praesumat... vel punctum tenere... non repetentes quod ille dixit.* The positive side of these rules is difficult to describe but they seem to contain exactly what Peter the Venerable wanted to change in the customary psalm singing of the Cluniac monasteries. [26]

The relation between the *Instituta* and the Cistercian text does not need much explanation. One point, however, is worth while noting. The author of the *Instituta* was well aware that the method of psalmody at St. Gall was not entirely in accordance with the text which he paraphrased. At the end of the first paragraph he says precisely the opposite of what his exemplar prescribed. Instead of *Punctum nullus teneat* he writes *Punctum aequaliter teneant omnes.* His subsequent warning against confusion in

[25] fiat] teneatur A O incipit] reincipit H versus etc.] et responsoria O; ympnum H respons... etc.] Alla et Respons. A ne alter] non alter O quod < iam > O antiph.] aut H Cum... respons.] Dum hympnos alla A; Dum hympnos et respons. O clausulis < aliquantulum > A O tamen] *om.* O

[26] Statuta; *PL* 189, 1034, n. 31; also *loc. cit.*, 1044, n. 67. See « Historical liturgy », *loc. cit.*, 181, note 78.

holding the final notes: *Nullus... post alios diutius protrahere vel punctum tenere praesumat*, corresponds to an identical text in the original which seems to be in contradiction with itself. For the passage *Nullus... auscultendo*, at first sight, insists on uniformity in everything, even in *punctum tenere*. Yet, only a few lines above the same text reads *Punctum nullus teneat*! Hence St Bernard's text can only be translated in the sense that «nobody may venture to prolong any last note.» A translation which, of course, goes beyond the grammatical construction. The vagueness of the phrase may have various reasons; one of them seems to have been the different methods of psalm singing in those days which I hope to explain in greater detail elsewhere.

If the author of the *Instituta* bears witness to the origin of his material, the comparison with his source shows how this must be taken, viz. with a pinch of salt. He does more honour to himself than to the authority of « the Fathers » which has been buried under the flowers of an ingenious verbosity. The five paragraphs *In omni textu*, *Scire debet*, *Quomodo ergo*, *Omnem igitur cantum*, *Si duo simul*, have much of later interpolations. The marginal additions in the manuscript of St. Gall suggest that the treatise was still growing in the day of Ekkehard V, who, if he is the author of what has been preserved, would have done better had he kept to the order and simplicity of his somewhat more « reasonable » original. His work then would have been more digestable, as was, for instance, the plain quotation of James of Liège who wrote in his *Speculum Musicae*:[27]

...est advertendum... secundum doctrinam beati Bernardi, quod in convenienti psalmodia debent psallentes rotunde et una voce psallere, simul incipere et simul finire, simul pausare, nullusque ante alium presumat incipere vel ultra alios nimis tenere. Et ut hoc melius fiat, debet unus alium ascultare:

Auscultando cane, incipe simul, desine plane.

Et cum cantor incipit, debent ceteri tacere; et ab illo [loco] in quo ipse dimittit, debent alii incipere, non resumendo quod ille dixit.

Finally, the author of the *Instituta* appears to have been only one out of many who were impressed by St. Bernard's rules. Yet, the way in which he expressed his impressions was outdone by the excellent mnemotechnical arrangement to be found in the fourteenth-century Sarum

[27] Lib. IV, cap. 86; Coussemaker II, 336. I have corrected a few mistakes.

ordinal, the author of which put two and two together and came to the following result: [28]

Dum Domino psalles. psallendo tu tria serves.
Dirige cor sursum. bene profer. respice sensum.
Ascultando cane. simul incipe. desine plane.
Psalmus dicatur. ut silleba non sileatur.
Tu pausam lauda. medio versu sine cauda.
Metro pausemus. post finem non properemus.
Numquam posterior versus prius incipiatur.
Quam suus anterior perfecto fine fruatur.

Qui psalmos resecat. vel laudis verba rescindit.
Non magis inde feret. quam si sua lingua taceret.
Fragmina verborum Titivillus colligit horum.
Sicque die mille vicibus resarcinat ille.

Cantemus Domino. socii. cantemus honore.
Dulcis amor et personat ore pio.

2 sursum]suum cod. 6 properemus]preparemus cod.
8 suus]suis cod. 9 resecat]recuat ? cod. vel]qui cod. 10 sua]mala cod.

[28] Oxford, Corpus Christi College D 44, fol. 194ra: *Rubrica de modo cantandi et psallendi divinum officium,* following the ordinal. The verses seem to have been a tradition in the Sarum books: the first 4 lines are also to be found in the *Portiforium seu Breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum,* London, 1555, in the introduction of both the winter and summer parts. — St. Bernard's text even survived in the Franciscan and Augustinian *Ordinationes divini Officii* as well as in the Dominican Ordinary, ed. Guerrini, Rome, 1921, 20, n. 74.

Oxford.

IL CODICE DI LUCCA

NINO PIRROTTA & ETTORE LI GOTTI

II

Testi letterari

ETTORE LI GOTTI (*Palermo*)

Nota introduttiva. - La presente trascrizione dei testi letterari di *Mn* è, per ovvii motivi – anche trattandosi per lo più di *unica* – sostanzialmente diplomatica. Interessava conservare anche la loro patina dialettale, benchè non sempre si possa essere sicuri che sia quella originaria, date le varie vicende della trasmissione di testi di poesie musicali.

Per i versi in francese la mia trascrizione ha avuto il massimo rispetto della grafia del codice. Per quelli in italiano invece, pur rispettando certe particolarità, come l'uso delle consonanti doppie e delle scempie, non ho tenuto conto di quei segni che non hanno un effettivo valore fonetico, come *k* per *c* velare, *ç* per *z*, *j* e *y* per *i*, *ct* e *pt* per *tt*, *nb* o *np* per *mb* o *mp;* ho tolto le *h* all'inizio o nel corpo delle parole. Ciò al fine di facilitare al lettore moderno la lettura dei testi e per presentarli con una certa uniformità grafica. Ho aggiunto di mio la punteggiatura e i segni ortografici essenziali.

Ho usato inoltre le parentesi tonde per indicare le parole o lettere da espungere; le parentesi quadre per quelle da restituire nel testo. Trattandosi di testi poetici sottoposti alla notazione musicale ho cercato quasi sempre di suggerire la restituzione o l'espunzione per ristabilire l'esatta misura del verso; benchè fossi convinto che non sempre ciò si rendesse necessario, specialmente per alcuni testi di intonazione popolareggiante. In nota, quando ne avevo l'opportunità, ho indicato le varianti più notevoli offerte da altri codici musicali che recano lo stesso testo; talvolta da questi codici ho potuto ricavare interi versi o interi gruppi di versi per completare testi incompleti in *Mn*. La lezione di altri codici è stata inserita nel testo (e il fatto è stato giustificato ogni volta in nota, a suo luogo) quando la lezione di *Mn* era non solo evidentemente guasta, ma senza senso; oppure quando, per l'eccessiva rifilatura della carta del codice o per altro accidente, mancava del

tutto in quel punto qualche sillaba o parola: non è stata accolta invece nei casi in cui la lezione di *Mn* può avere un senso compiuto e costituisce una variante vera e propria. Ciò perchè mi correva l'obbligo di rispettare il mio testo, anche quando ero convinto di un suo eventuale travestimento.

* * *

I. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *MADRIGALE* [1]

La douce ciere d'un fier animal
Se poit intendre pour sanefiance [2]
Grant ardimant et humble senblance [3]

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

A son col porta un eschu tot blans
Che dengombrer [4] il fet tot gra[ns.]

[1] Ed. Wesselofsky, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti*, Bologna 1867, I, pag. 231.

[2] Anche negli altri codici la parola è, più o meno, storpiata. Corrisponde a *signifiançe*.

[3] Soltanto in FL si trova la seconda terzina:

Le vis human, le bust d'un leon
Intrefigiés d'un brief allegier
Que dit: « lyamant sans dottier ».

[4] Il ms reca *dē gōbrer*; ma la lezione giusta è data forse da *Lo*, che ha *di glon bien*. Sarà cioè da intendere: *d'un gran bien*.

II. G. BINCHOIS - *BALLADE* [1]

(Testo di Christine de Pisan)

Dueil angoisseux, rage desmesurée,
Grief desespoir plain de forsennement,
Langour sans fin, vie malheurée,
Plainne de plour, d'angoisse e de torment;
Cuer douleureux que vit obscurement,
Tenebreux corps sus le point de partir,
Ay, sans cesser continuellement
Et si ne puis ne garir ne morir.

[1] Testo in alcuni punti di difficile lettura, perchè, tranne le due iniziali miniate, palinsesto. Le due carte contenevano precedentemente una ballata di Bartolino da Padova. Cfr. Christine de Pisan, *Oeuvres poétiques* publiées par M. Roy, I, p. 7.

III. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *BALLATA* [1]

Serva ciascuno com'è fatto a lui;
Faccia per sì, e lassi stare altrui.

Non serve chi non crede
Per quel do tant(o) [2] aver(e) possa per sè,
Sì che ben chiar(o) se vede
Che ogi non c'è amor, nè data fè;
Per ogne modo adonca far se de'
De quel ad altri che ven fatto a lui.
Serva ciascun etc.

[1] Non si trova in nessun altro codice, musicale o poetico, noto fin qui. Inedita.

[2] Qui, come nella parola successiva, l'espunzione della vocale è indicata nel ms Non è indicata invece per la *o* di *chiaro* nel verso seguente.

IV. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *BALLATA* [1]

Recordete de mi, madonna mia [1]
. . . . . .

[1] Il testo di questa inedita ballata doveva trovarsi sul *recto* della carta seguente, ora perduta assieme a varie altre che pure probabilmente contenevano altri testi di Bartolino . Per fortuna supplisce *Pz*, in cui leggiamo:

Quanto t'amai de fed' e cortesia.

Ben mille fiate nanzi al to conspetto
Zià te pregai con iusta fed' e pura
Per onorarti, e tu, crudele e dura,
Dannavi el mio parlar, pien de suspetto.
Non cognosendo in me solo un difetto
Che non dovresti esermi stata pia.
Recordete etc.

V. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *BALLATA* [1]

Zoia de novi odori
Spero, con vermeglitti e bianchi fiori,

Da quella che tal zoia sego porta
E par tra l'altre più degna d'onore;
In cui tanta beltà onestà scorta
Che [per] diletto en lei alberga [amore;]

Ond'io cotal segnore
Prego, che ponga fine [a' miei ardori.] [2]

[1] Inedita.

[2] Le integrazioni delle parole mancanti, in conseguenza della rifilatura della pergamena, sono ricavate da *FL* e *PR*, in cui troviamo anche (completa in *FL*, mancante degli ultimi due versi in *PR*) la seguente altra stanza:

Senza toa ingiuria, amor, io prego lei
Ch'i prieghi miei non degna, s'ella t'ama;
Et che ela piatosa i desir miei
Faza contenti segondo soa brama;
Chè certo a bella dama
Star dura non conviene sanz'amori.

Da notare le varianti di *FL*: *s' ell'à fama* per *s'ella t'ama*, e *ch' ela* per *che ela*; quest'ultima indurrebbe a leggere, per la misura del verso, *pïatosa* quadrisillabo.

VI. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *BALLATA* [1]

Per un verde boschetto
Seguit' ò l'orma d'un zentil brachetto.

Con voce quasi umana
Sèguitame [2] latrando e par che dica;
Ond'io con mente sana
De seguitarlo non penso [3] fatica,
Sperando che la plica
Me scioglia de quel nodo cossì [4] stretto.

[1] Testo inedito. Non ha relazione con la « caccia » « Per un boschetto tra pungenti spine », che è del Soldanieri. Sebbene non sia da escludere che anche questi versi possano essere del Soldanieri, essendo fra i più antichi di quelli intonati da Bartolino, non abbiamo d'altra parte alcuna prova per affermarlo. « Verde buschetto » è ricordata dal *Saporetto* e, afferma l'Alvisi (*Canzonette antiche*, p. 120), una lauda si cantava sull'aria che per essa aveva scritto Bartolino. Doveva essere dunque molto nota.

[2] È assai probabile che, per attrazione del precedente *seguit'ò* e del successivo *seguitarlo*, il copista abbia interpretato male il testo, che forse doveva dire *segni famme latrando*. Ma non è che una supposizione.

[3] Lezione guasta, come provano *PR* (*non prisi*) e sopratutto *FL*, *FP*, *P* (*n' ò preso*).

[4] Secondo *FP* si potrebbe anche leggere, ma, penso, men bene: *ch' ò sì stretto*.

VII. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *BALLATA*

(Testo di Giovanni Dondi dall'Orologio) [1]

La sacrosanta carità d'amore,
Dico quella verace
Che due vulire un face,
Nel mondo trova pochi possessori [2].

Perchè vertù, ch'è la radice e 'l nodo
Di quell'amor perfetto,
Sbandito[3] è[4] da l'umano intelletto,
Nè à p[resio] nè lodo;
Ma sopra ogne vertù presiato [è 'l frodo:]
Purità manca e fe';
Ciascun pur guarda a sè,
Vestendo panni di cangiacolori[6].

[1] Medico padovano; si trovò a insegnare medicina a Firenze verso il 1368-70. Appunto fra le sue rime si trova questa composizione, col titolo *Balata Florentie,* nel cod. Marciano cl. XIV, lat. 223, c. 35a, da cui la ripubblicò, dopo il Cappelli e il Bellemo, con le altre il Medin (*Le rime di G. Dondi dall'Orologio,* per nozze Morpurgo-Franchetti, Padova 1895, p. 45). Il Medin pensa che sia stata mandata dall'A. a Francesco di Vannozzo per esser messa in musica (cfr. i sonetti XXXII e XXXIII della citata pubblicazione).

Probabilmente a questa ballata allude il verso 10 del sonetto V, sera IV, del *Saporetto* (Debenedetti, *Il Sollazzo,* p. 172).

[2] Benchè tutti i codici musicali concordino nel recare *possessori* e *cangiacolori,* è ovvio ricordare che, per la rima, bisogna leggere dialettalmente *possessore* e *cangiacolore.*

[3] Il copista per errore ha accordato *sbandito* col maschile *intelletto,* anzichè col femminile *vertù,* com' è nel cod. Marciano.

[4] Bisogna, come nel Marciano, leggere *è già* per ristabilire la misura del verso.

VIII. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *BALLATA*[1]

Perchè cangiato[2] è 'l mondo da l'antico
Non so chi tener [deza] per amico.

Chè tal [dolce]za nel viso mi mostra
Che[3] nel cor (soa)[4] men[te a]mara
E si cosa a ssè (po' aver sì)[5] cara
[Po' aver][6] con danno mio, tra zoia e riso.
Cossì per confidente spesso aviso
Tal, che a la prova me 'l trovo nemico[7].
Perchè canzato, etc.

[1] Ed. Cappelli, *Poesie musicali dei secc. XIV, XV e XVI,* Bologna 1868, p. 26.

In *Mn* non esiste di questa ballata il *tenor,* che si trovava in una carta successiva, ora mancante.

[2] Così nel ms a questo punto; ma più in basso, all'indicazione abbreviata della ripetizione della ripresa, *canzato.* L'oscillazione doveva ormai essere nell'uso, trattandosi del capoverso.

[3] In tutti gli altri codici si trova la lezione giusta *ch' à* (= che ha).

[4] Da espungere per la misura del verso; ma si trova, con varianti, in tutti i codici. In *Mod: nel so cor.*

[5] La restituzione dei versi 5-6 nella forma indicata dalle parentesi tonde e quadre, oltre che voluta da ragioni metriche, è confermata da *Mod* e *PR*.

[6] Ecco la seconda strofe, come ci è data da *Mod*:

Dunque amico chi sia saver non posso
E chi mi voia bene,
Perchè celata tene
Dentro la voia sua, bona o ria.
Ma pur so tanto della mente mia
Che 'l bon me piaze et non amo l'inicho.
Perchè canzato, etc.

IX. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *MADRIGALE* [1]

Le aurate chiome nodose et avolte
D'un fil de perla, talor d'un bel fiore,
Per virtù oculta me penetra 'l core.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

El me convien CATAR IN Alcun loco
Che pur m[e sento] da [2] sospiri e foco.

[1] Inedito. In *Mn*, per l'anzidetta lacuna, ne manca il *cantus* cui forse si accompagnava il testo del secondo terzetto, mancante in tutti i codici. È scritto per una Catarina, di cui è ravvisabile il « nome segreto » nel ritornello.

[2] Forse *da'* (= *dar*).

X. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *BALLATA* [1]

Sempre, donna, t'amai de pura voglia;
E tu me dai per premio pena e noglia.

L'onor to [2] sopra me stesso amava
Et amo, e fermo son sempre d'amare.
Vederti sopra ogn'altra apresiare
Era mio bene e ziò desidrava [3];
E tu [4] el bel viso to, che me alegrava,
Mi fai lontano, ond'io moro di doglia.
Sempre, donna, t'amai etc.

Se vai tra mille amanti ricercando [5],
Ch'arden in gli ochi [6] de toa luce altera,
Nessun con fe' [7] diffese tanto intera

Mai to valore, men de ssì curando.
Donqua perchè di te me teni in bando,
Per cui morire me seria gran zoglia? [8]
Sempre, donna, t'amai etc.

[1] Inedita.
[2] *FL*: *lo tuo honor.*
[3] Così anche in *PR*; *FL*: *disiderava.*
[4] *FL* e *PR*: *ma tu.*
[5] *FL*: *riguardando.*
[6] *PR*: *in i ochi. FL*: *negli ochi.*
[7] *FL* e *PR*: *con te.*
[8] *FL*: *grazia e zoia.* Si noti che *FL* volta in *-oia* tutte le rime in *-oglia,* laddove *PR* le conferma in *-oglia.* Segue in *PR* una terza strofe:

Ben rimembrava a me la greve sorte
Di molti franchi amanti e di gran fede,
A' qual i done engrate per mercede
Dèno prexone, exilio e anchor morte;
Ma 'l vero amore l'amante tiense forte,
Ch' ogni paura dal petto spoglia.
Sempre, donna, etc.

XI. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *BALLATA* [1]

Non correr troppo e tien la mano al freno,

Chè chi vol gir più forte ch'el [2] non puote
Tosto se stanca, e subito percuote.
Cade in terra, e avazzio vene a meno [3].
Non correr troppo etc.
Donca non aver fretta, va di passo;
Che, se tu cadi e trovite nel basso,
Amaro sentirai più che veneno.
Non correr troppo etc.

[1] Inedita.
[2] *FL*: *che.*
[3] *FL*: *E cade in luogo che e' va vie meno; PR*: *E cade in terra e ve vi ven a meno.*

XII. *RONDEAU* [1]

La belle flour.....

[1] Per la mancanza della carta successiva di questa composizione, ignota ad altri codici musicali, è rimasto soltanto il *Teneur* con la brevissima citazione dell'*incipit*. La forma poetica si desume da quella musicale.

XIII. *RONDEAU* [1]

Mal vi loyauté d'estre amore[ux]
Qar nulla ioye pus prandre em pleisir
P[our] chiosa qi my poysse avenir
Et par vous n'est [2] tre dous, vis gratie[ux].

Tut qan... ie suy...
De vos se.... qan qi ye....
Mal vi [etc.]
Dous plesant belle a vars yous [3],
A qi ye suy sans iamés repentir,
Or me vogliés pour votre ami tenir,
Qar autremant ne seray plus ioyus.
Mal vi loyauté etc.

[1] Sconosciuto ad altri codici musicali. Inedito. Il testo ci è giunto in uno stato pietoso per l'eccessiva rifilatura del margine della carta.

[2] Così il ms ; ma, per quanto storpiato possa essere il francese di questo *rondeau*, penso si tratti di un *lapsus* del copista e che si debba leggere *m'est*.

[3] Nel ms. si legge chiaramente *a uars*. Interpreto *a vos*, secondo il senso.

XIV. *RONDEAU* [1]

[Mon b]el amy corteus e gratieux,
Sor tres tu ses che laymes pour amour
Mon cuer vous dong pour fin à vos dolour
Or soyés dont [2], ie vous pri[e, i]oyeux.

Et si sachiés [3] qe l'amour de nous deus,
Mon tres doulz cuers, soyt durable a tous iours.
Mon bel amy etc.
Quar de ma part a mes nobles serés seus
De bon voloir sans penser poi[n]t [4] al iours,
Qar vous estes de trestout les meleeurs,
Le plu parfait de tous le amoureux.
Mon bel amy etc.

[1] Sconosciuto ad altri codici. Inedito. Le lacune derivano dalla rifilatura della carta.

[2] Cioè: *donc*.

[3] Forse per *fachiés*.

[4] Nel ms si legge *poit*, senza il segno di abbreviazione della *n*.

XV. *RONDEAU* [1]

[Mon b]el amy, mon confort et ma ioye,
Joyeusement ie me vouldray tenir
En .... [2] que vous puisse veir,

Car loing de vous faire ne le pourroye.

Tout mi penser si ne font autre voye
Fors qe ver vous, où sont tut mi plaisir.
Mon bel etc.
Vo grant beauté vuelt qe mon cuer s'ottroye
A vous amer, et pas n'en vueilg faillir.
Mieulx ne vouldroye à mon avis choisir,
Pour ce me tieng à vous, où que [ie] [3] soye.
Mon bel amy etc.

[1] Sconosciuto ad altri codici. Inedito.

[2] Come nel primo verso, la lacuna è determinata dalla rifilatura del margine. Forse è da intendere *En tel lieu.*

[3] La restituzione è voluta dalla misura del verso. Nel ms però non c'è lacuna.

XVI. ANTONIO DA CIVIDALE - *RONDEAU* [1]

Merçi, pour Dieu, merçi, ma dame belle,
Car ie ne puis si greu dolour so[frir],
Onqes ioye, ne espour, ne bien sentir
Se pour dochour duressa ne rebelle.

E puis qe vous, douche amouretta selle [2]
Che mien greus maulx [ne me] vogliés garir,
[Merçi, pour Dieu, etc.]
Ay las, que ma dame ne m'apelle [3],
En qi ay [mis] mon cuer e mon pleisir,
E qi de cuer tout iours [ie] [4] vu servi[r]
Pius qand si est, ma belle flour novelle.
Merçi, pour Dieu, etc

[1] Sconosciuto agli altri codici. Inedito. Le lacune derivano dalla rifilatura del margine.

[2] Così nel ms, molto probabilmente per *belle.*

[3] Il verso è evidentemente mancante di una sillaba. Non c'è però lacuna nel ms.

[4] Non c'è lacuna nel ms. Restituisco per la misura del verso.

XVII. ANTONIO DA CIVIDALE - *RONDEAU* [1]

[Loin]gtemps i' ay mis mon cuer, mon pensement
En vous servir, honourer et a[me]r
Tres loyaulment... [2] me fait esperer
Bon guierdon, selonc droit juiement.

Jusques a cy ne recheuy vrayment,
Bien le savés, de mon servir loyer;
[Loingtemps etc.]
Et, par ma foy, ie ne desir riens tant.
Or me vueigliés vo voloir demoustrer,
Quar ie doubte qe por trop loing tarder
Ne puisse avoir le bien qe ie atant.
[Loingtemps etc.]

[1] Inedito. Le lacune provengono dalla rifilatura del margine.
[2] Nel ms. c'è qui un segno che non si riesce a decifrare; forse *et.*

XVIII. FRANCESCO LANDINI - *BALLATA* [1]

Va' pur, Amore, con le reti tue,
Piglia cunque tu vuoi,
Ch'i' son disciolto da l'inganni tuoi.

Viverommi nel mar con libertate
come l'altr'animal [2], con dolce pace;
Nè potra' mai con tua sagacitate
Pigliarmi, po' ch'io conosco il rapace
Tuo pelago, le rete, è la fallace
Esca; chè, come suoi,
Assalt' [3] i tuo' aversi e abass' i tuoi [4].
Va' pur, Amore, etc.

[1] Edita, oltre che da L. Ellinwood, da E. Li Gotti (« Poesie musicali ital. del sec. XIV » in *Atti della R. Acc. di Scienze Lettere e Arti di Palermo,* serie IV, vol. IV, parte II, 1945, p. 69 dell'estratto). In *Mn* la carta è molto logora al centro, dove è il residuo del testo, oltre le parti che accompagnano la musica. Pertanto i versi 6-10 sono pressochè illeggibili. L'Alvisi, *op. cit.,* p. 121, cita una lauda del codice Chigiano 577 che si cantava sullo stesso motivo.

[2] Nel ms: *d'altr'animal,* ma è un evidente *lapsus.*

[3] Cioè *esalti,* come confermano le varianti degli altri codici.

[4] Il concetto è familiare alla rimeria amorosa degli ultimi anni del '200 e degli inizi del '300 (cfr. il son. 35° del cosidetto *Trattato del servire* del codice Vatic. 3793, e le rime di Onesto bolognese).

XIX. FRANCESCO LANDINI - *BALLATA* [1]

Donna, s'i' t'ò fallito,
O altr'amor che 'l tuo seguir consento,
Son di morir per le tuo man contento.

Ma s'io ti porto et ò portato fede,
Et sempre el tuo volerre
Seguit'ò più che 'l mie, come tu sai,
Perchè a diletto mi fai ognor dolere

Vegendo toa mercede
Mancar nel viso bel(lo)[2] che tolto m'hai?
Vuo' tu, perch'i' t'amai,
E tanto t'amo ch'altro ben non sento,
Tener la vita mia con tal tormento?
Donna s'i' t'ò fallito etc.

[1] È ricordata al v. 6 del son. XII (Sera VII) del *Saporetto* di Simone Prodenziani. L'Alvisi, *op. cit.*, p. 89 ricorda che una lauda del cod. Riccardiano 2871 era cantata sulla stessa musica. Testo e musica sono contenuti anche nel frammento pergamenaceo di Oxford, Bodl. Can. Script. eccles. 229, proveniente dallo stesso codice cui appartengono i frammenti di Padova, Bibl. Univers. 684 e 1475 (concordanza omessa nell'Inventario).

[2] Espungo per ristabilire la misura del verso.

XX. G. CICONIA - *BALLATA*[1]

Con lagreme bagnandome el viso
El mio segnor lassai,
Ond'io me strugo in guai
Quando io me penso[2] esser da lui diviso.

Ahimè, dolente! ahi, dura dispartita[3]
Che mai non fai ritorno in questo mondo!
Ahi, cruda morte! ahi, despietata vita,
Come partesti dal mio amor iocundo?[4]
Ahi,[5] ingorda malvasa senza fondo!
Fuor d'ogni temperanza
Sgroppa[6] omai toa balanza,[7]
Poi che tolto m'ài ogni gioco e riso.
Con lagreme etc.

[1] Ballata assai nota, che si trova in più di un codice, musicale e non musicale. Sul suo motivo si cantava anche una lauda (cfr. Debenedetti, *Il « Sollazzo »*, Torino 1922, pp. 76-77). È ricordata al v. 10 del son. X della VI sera del *Saporetto* di S. Prodenziani, quindi deve essere stata musicata entro il primo o il secondo decennio del sec. XV; non possiamo però dire se veramente sia un testo poetico del Giustinian e se, come dice il cod. Riccard. 1764, sia stata composta in morte di Francesco il Vecchio († 1393) o di Francesco Novello († 1406), signori di Padova. La datazione del 1406, che sarebbe la più probabile, non pare ammissibile al Debenedetti, che ricorda la violentissima canzone di Nanni Pegolotti. Ma ci è lecito supporre il Ciconia operante a Padova nel 1393, laddove le notizie che abbiamo sulla sua dimora padovana non risalgono ad anni anteriori al 1401? Per le edizioni di questa ballata, cfr. Debenedetti, *op. cit.*, p. 175, nota al v. 10.

[2] *P*: *mi veggio.*

[3] *P*: *O me dolente! o dura dipartita.*

[4] Il Cian, « Ballate e strambotti del sec. XV tratti da un cod. trevisano » in *Giorn. stor. d. lett. it.* (1884), legge: *Onde lassasti el mio signor giocondo.*

[5] La restituzione, necessaria alla misura del verso, ci è suggerita da *P*.

[6] *P*: *Stroppa.*

[7] Cian, *op. cit.*, *Scopri omai toa baldanza.* Ma è lezione niente affatto giusta.

XXI. *RONDEAU* [1]

Ave vergene . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

Vostre dous cuer, gentis Isnelle
Ver moy ayés gratieux.
Ave etc.
O merveglieux damoyselle
Royn du ciel tres glorieux,
Per toy l'ange Gabrielle
Sava le pechié orguglieux.
Ave vergene etc.

[1] Sconosciuto agli altri codici. Inedito. Il testo è mutilo perchè manca il *Cantus*, che doveva trovarsi nella carta precedente, ora perduta.

XXII. G. CICONIA - *BALLATA* [1]

La fiamma del to amor, che già me strinze,
Da morte a vita l'alma mia suspinze.

Volava li mei spirti za per l'aura
Quando t'aldì' gridar, piangendo, e dire:
« Dove mi lassi, ohimè! ver mi restaura
un poco la toa mente, e non morire. »
Quel suono amaro me fe' resentire.
Cossì l'amor amor [2] la morte vinze.
La fiamma etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita.
[2] Così nel ms, ma forse da correggere in *ancor*.

XXIII. NICOLO' DA PERUGIA - *BALLATA* [1]

— Donna, poss'io sperare
Meriti de mia fe'? — [2]
— Messe', non so per che;
Deh, va' in bona ora, va'! lassame stare! —

— Adonca vôi che mora? —
— Se mori, a me che fa? —
— El te ne dolerà [3] ancora! —
— Certo non dolerà. —
— Deh, pensa quel che fa'! —
— Deh, pensace pur tu! —
— Io me despererò... —
— Si te desperi, et io che n'agio a ffare? —

— Adonqua zappo in acqua? —
— A me par ben cossì. —
— Tu m'ài per men d'un acca... [4]
— Se Dio m'aiuti, sì! —
— Deh, pensa quel che di'! —
— Deh, pensa[c]i pur tu! —
— E' non t'il dirò più! —
— Tace, per Dio, e più non mi seccare! —
Donna, poss'io sperare etc.
— E' recevo gran torto,
Al mio parer, da ti. [5]
Tu me vôi per morto
E io non so perchè.
Se iusta cason(e) [6] c'è,
Palese me la fa',
E po' (la) [7] morte me da',
E umelemente la vo(glio) [8] comportare. —
Donna, poss'io sperare etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Pubblicata, ma con differente disposizione dei versi, da A. Mancini in *Atti d. Accad. Naz. dei Lincei, Rendiconti,* marzo-aprile 1947, pp. 87-88.

[2] Nel *Tenor* è aggiunta, certo dal musicista, la battuta: *dici a me?* che guasta il verso. Cfr. Appendice.

[3] Da correggere in *dorrà* per ristabilire la misura del verso.

[4] Nel ms: *d' una h.*

[5] Da correggere in *da te,* per la rima.

[6] Da espungere per ristabilire la misura del verso.

XXIV. ANTONIO ZACARA DA TERAMO - *BALLATA* [1]

Rosetta che non cambi mai colore
Amar te voglio sopra ogne altro fiore.

Se altrui me fa languire e sospirare
Tu me resguardi con gran desiderio; [2]
. . . . . .

[1] Inedita. Ricordata nel v. 2 del son. X della sera VI del *Saporetto* di S. Prodenziani.

[2] Il rimanente della strofe si legge in *Pz:*

E se turbar, o pianger, o tristare,
Penando vai per darmi refrigerio.
Non posso legere lo salterio
Ch'io a costei che non muta colore
Rosetta etc.

XXV. ZACARA DA TERAMO - *BALLATA* [1]

Un fior gentil m'aparse,
O aspiratio prima,
Bina ne va per rima,
Poi dui cenquante prima e tosto sparse.

Angelicamente venne a repararse,
Passionato stando a giudicarme [2]
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Poi commenza a donarme
de quel suo dolce frutto.
Ahimè, che 'l mundo tutto
Tal fior non se troverà a ben cercarse.
Un fior gentil etc.

[1] Sconosciuta ad altri codici. Edita da F. Ghisi, « Frammenti di un nuovo codice musicale » in *La Rinascita,* V (1942). p. 83, e « Bruchstuecke einer neuen Musikhandschrift etc. » in *Archiv f. Musikforschung,* 7 (1942), p. 23.

[2] Il Ghisi non registra la mancanza di due versi che dovevano trovarsi nella carta precedente, ora perduta.

XXVI. ZACARA DA TERAMO - *BALLATA* [1]

Deus deorum, Pluto, or te re[n]gratio!
Mille (mille) merzè, Gebelles demorgon! [2]
Non dirò barban, barban, aaron,
Poi che so reintegrato et de lui satio.

Serà in eternum el nostro laudatio
De la vendetta e de tanta iustitia;
Or superete l'auro e 'l topatio,
Che per nesun commessa c'è pigritia.
Io so in possession a gran leticia,
Servo serò de Cacus Radamanto;
Re[n]gratiando ognun tanto per tanto
Presta iusticia in poco tempo et spatio.
Deus deorum etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Edita dal Ghisi in *La Rinascita,* già cit., p. 84 e in *Archiv f. Musikforschung,* già cit., p. 24.

[2] Forse allude al mitico Demogorgon.

XXVII. ANTONIO ZACARA DA TERAMO - *BALLATA* [1]

Amor nè tossa non se po' celare,
Nè zoppegar del pe';
E ben se bela senza far: be, be.

La quaglia sempre non farà: qua, qua;
Nè la sampognia: be, bellu, lu lu.[2]
. . . . . .

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Edita dal Ghisi in *La Rinascita,* già cit., p. 85-86 e in *Archiv f. Musikforschung,* già cit., p. 24.

[2] Mancano cinque versi (il secondo piede e la volta), che probabilmente si trovavano nella c. 60, ora mancante.

XXVIII. ZACARA DA TERAMO - *MADRIGALE*[1]

Plorans ploravi, perchè la fortuna
Pur sopra ad me diriza sua potenza.
Ploraboque, chè a lei forza e prudenza
Resister(e)[2] non li val(e)[3] tanto è impor[tu]na.

Maldetta quella che 'l mondo raduna,
Quella nutrice e l'ora che me 'l tolse;
Nature debitum in unda persolse;
Suspiri a lo mio cor sempre s'aduna.[4]

In ulnis patris expirao cum pianto.
Per rinovar[5] le pene fi questo canto.

Martiro fo ne la sua puericia
Quel che per nome avea quel de Galicia.

[1] Sconosciuto ad altri codici. Inedito. È uno dei pochi esempi di madrigale composto di quartine anzichè di terzine.

[2] Espungo per ristabilire la misura del verso. La lacuna in fondo al verso è causata dalla rifilatura del margine.

[3] Nel ms. questo primo ritornello sta con la musica sul *verso* della c. 62, ma la sua inserzione a questo punto è indicata, sul *recto* della stessa carta, da un richiamo che precede i due ultimi versi.

[4] Nella prima voce: *Per innovar.*

XXIX. ZACCARIA - *BALLATA*[1]

Sol me trafige 'l cor l'aquila bella
Per l'ardente disio de rivederla.

Non fo diamante di tanta durezza
Ch'io più fermo non sia costei a servire,
Tanto m'azese l'ador[na vaghezza][2]
Da soa bellezza nen[3] primo [ferire.]
Ohimè topino, ben credo [morire]
S'io non rivezo la diana [stella.]
Sol me trafige etc.

[1] Edita da A. Cappelli, *Poesie musicali,* già cit., p. 27.

[2] Le parole che restituisco non si leggono più perchè il margine della carta è lacerato. Supplisce la lezione di *FL.*

[3] Il ms reca *nan.* Ma la lezione giusta ci è suggerita da *FL,* che ha: *Del dolce viso nel primo ferire.*

XXX. ANTONIO ZACARA DA TERAMO - *BALLATA* [1]

Ciaramella, me dolze ciaramella!

O tu che porti fra Mazante sotto,
Polito e bello con la chierca rasa,
Poi che 'l martello to dà sì gran botto
Tosto m'abrazza, strengi e pur me basa,
Che 'n questa terra de me n'è più bella!
[Ciaramella etc.]
O tu che porti a pieghe fatte l'ose,
Onte e ornate de molti incinelli,
E le tuo vestimente tutte rose
Ove se trova molti foramelli,
Vòltate un poco a me che son citella!
Ciaramella etc.
O tu che dolzemente sette volte
Quel fatto fai a non ussir bachetta,
Fa' che me vegni con le brache sciolte,
Chè non bisogna di(ce)re: « aspetta, aspetta »,
Per far più tosto nostra giornatella.
Ciaramella etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita, tranne gli ultimi tre versi, riportati da A. Mancini, *op. cit.,* p. 89.

XXXI. ZACARA DA TERAMO - *BALLATA DOPPIA* [1]

a) Ie suy navvrés tant fort, o dous amy!
De quoy? de AITUEROLF [2] et de le dames.
Hay las, chantés; or non crier, ciantés!
Vramant mourray per celles, moy amy.

La nobiltà [3] con tutte le scientie
Et l'arte liberal con le ricchezze;
La libertà, vertù con le prudentie,
Chaliope poeta e le fortezze,
Tout le stourmant du mondo et gionesse,
Biau sir, or que vous plet, e tout le nimphes
Oy vramant Orfus apprés [4]
Grant parlament de sens, o vray amy.
Je suy etc.

b) Gnaff' a le guagnele, et io anch to' togli!
Per le sant Dio, tu si dous amy.

Humilior tauro
Homines nobilitant scientie
Sept artes saccra non seray mai ricche.
Non venditur auro
Hominesque exaltant prudentie,
Dea loquentie, Hercules, le fortezze.
Li Orpheo e Narcisus, anch to' togli,
Grant sens et mastrie, dous amy.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita. Accenna ad essa solo il v. 3 del son. X, sera VI del *Saporetto* di S. Prodenziani. Si tratta di due diversi testi in forma di ballata, collegati fra loro quanto al senso, da vaghe correlazioni; ma uniti simultaneamente in una stessa composizione musicale. Cfr. Appendice.

[2] Anagramma di *FLORENTIA;* forse il copista non lo capì e scrisse *aituerolf* anzichè *aitnerolf*.

[3] La seconda voce reca *libertà,* ma sarà un errore del copista per attrazione della stessa parola al verso 7.

[4] Mancano almeno due sillabe per la misura del verso.

XXXII. ZACARA DA TERAMO - *BALLATA*[1]

Ad ogne vento[2] volta come foglia,
Secondo il sono cossì balla al ballo,
E non voler d'altrui più ch'altrui voglia.

Produce l'arbor el frutto che se coglia.
Odir chi tutto vol[e][3] tutto perde.
Deh, non curar se altrui pomo toglia,
Chè a conte[ntar] ogn'om sempre sta' ver[de.]
Poi che è secca e suo f[oglia] perde
De l'altrui pensa . . . . . .
E non curar se nesun . . . . . .[4]
Ad ogne vento etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita. È solo ricordata nel v. 10 del son. XII, sera VII, del *Saporetto* di S. Prodenziani. Il testo è di difficile interpretazione per le lacune prodotte dalla rifilatura del margine della carta.

[2] La seconda voce ha: *Ad onne vento voltan.* Il *Saporetto* reca: *volge.*

[3] La restituzione è necessaria per la misura del verso.

[4] A partire dal v. 8 il testo è molto lacunoso, e perciò voglio sperare che le mie integrazioni risultino attendibili. Il v. 9 dovrebbe avere una rima in *-allo*; lo spazio della carta sottratto dalla rifilatura non mi pare possa contenere più di poche sillabe. L'ultimo verso che doveva finire in *-oglia,* poteva dire forse: *E non curar se nesun mal ti voglia.*

XXXIII. *BALLATA* [1]

Spesso, fortuna, cridote;
Tu dici pur de sì,
Ma sempre in fondo, dicote,
Me trovo pur cossì.

O falsa che se' ma(e)stra,
Io non te posso cogliere.
Se io in terra, tu ad astra
Per non volermi sciogliere.
Tu me voli pur involvere,
Deh, dime o no o sì:
Se deb'io resurgere,
O stare pur cosè. [2]
Spesso, fortuna etc.
Nella mia gioveneza
Notte e dì seguitasteme,
Sempre con grande aspreza
D'ogni bene privasteme,
In terra collocasteme,
Però maldetta se'.
Ognor(a) pur maledicote
Mentre che sto cosè.
Spesso, fortuna etc.

[1] Sconosciuta ad altri codici. Inedita.

[2] La rima oscilla, almeno nella grafia, tra la *i* e la *è* ossitone. Si veda anche ai vv. 18 e 20.

XXXIV. ANTONELLO DA CASERTA - *MADRIGALE* [1]

Del glorioso titol(o) [2] d'esto duce ,
Zascun fa fest' [3] omai, ch'à in sè [4] vertute,
Che novo Re [5] si nasce per salute

Da quella donna che zà estese l'ale
E possedette ciò che 'l sol riguarda,
Ch'aver un sposo [6] è sta' sì lenta e tarda. [7]

Ma questo è quel che per virtù celeste
Fia novo Augusto cum triumfi e feste,

E zà monarca un sceptro d'or s'il chiama
Perch'el dilati l'italiaca fama.

[1] Sconosciuto agli altri codici. Inedito.

[2] Nel ms. la *o* reca il segno dell'espunzione. Il verso così, con *glorïoso* quadrisillabo, ha migliore accentuazione.

[3] Nel ms., in entrambe le voci, *festi,* col segno di espunzione sotto la *i*.

[4] La prima voce ha: *sì*

[5] Maiuscola la *R* nel ms. in entrambe le voci.

[6] L'*o* finale nel ms. ha il segno dell'espunzione.

[7] Il ms. reca, sulla c. 67, il rimando: *volta carta per la volta,* con cui è designato il primo ritornello, che si trova effettivamente sul *verso* della stessa carta. Il secondo ritornello sta invece, di seguito alla seconda terzina, sul *verso* della c. 66. La posizione del primo ritornello è però chiaramente indicata da un richiamo. Si ha in complesso una disposizione analoga a quella del madrigale n. 28, anch'esso con due ritornelli.

XXXV. *BALLATA* [1]

De mia farina fo le mie lasagne.

Et de queste mi godo,
Perchè le fo a mio modo,
Quando io vo' molle, e quando io voglio stagne.
De mie farina etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Edita da A. Mancini, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

XXXVI. ANTONELLO DA CASERTA - *BALLATA* [1]

A pianger l'ochi mei [2] pur mo commenza.
Vol fortuna e destino
Che lo mio cor topino
Per ben amar aza tal penetenza.

Cossì pianzendo el doloroso petto
Sorzerà sempre profundi sospiri;
A l'amor piacque, a cui fui sozetto,
Farme sentir amorosi martiri.
Quest'è la spene di mey gran desiri,
Però lo mio cor tristo
De lagreme fa acquisto,
Ahi lasso mi! chè non fo mia credenza.
A pianzer etc.

[1] Inedita.

[2] Nella seconda voce si legge: *A pianzer l'ochi mie.*

XXXVII. ANTONELLO DA CASERTA - *BALLATA* [1]

Più chiar ch'l sol in lo mio cor LUCIA [2]
Lizadra figur(a) [3] de vui, madonna mia.

Con tanta beltà ve i pose natura [4]
Che 'l mio core è tutto sfiamizato
Et arde zorno e notte, e mia fortuna
Non vol(e) [5] ch'un po(co) [6] da vui io sia aittato.
Ma sempre el vostro cor crudo e spietato
Sta inverso mi, non za per mia folia.
Più chiar etc.
Però prego che umile e graciosa
Vui siate alquanto, poi che 'l vero Dio
V'à fatta tanto bella e vertuosa,
Che al mondo non à par(o) [7] quel volto pio;
Se non che inverso mi troppo è zudìo
In darme pena con fortuna ria.
Più chiar etc.

[1] Inedita.
[2] È il « nome segreto » di colei, cui era indirizzata la ballata.
[3] Nonostante la *a* sia espunta nel ms, il verso resta storpiato lo stesso.
[4] *Natura* è in assonanza con *fortuna* del v. 5.
[5], [6], [7] Vocali o sillabe espunte per ristabilire la misura del verso.

XXXVIII. ANTONELLO DA CASERTA - *BALLATA* [1]

Deh, vogliateme oldire, [2]
Donna, el mio gran dolore,
Ch'amor me struze 'l core.
Se non m'aiuti me vedrai morire.

Donna, se m'aldirai [3]
Con toa gentil figura
So ben che me trarai
De sì mortal ardura.
Ohimè [che] [4] se la dura
Non me potrai azutare
E di cotal affare
Con umel pianto dirai el to [pentire.] [5]
Deh, vogliateme oldire etc.

[1] Sconosciuta ad altri codici. Inedita.
[2], [3] *Oldire* e *aldirai* equivalgono a *udire* e *udrai*.
[4] Restituisco per ristabilire la misura del verso.
[5] Anche questa è mia restituzione, che tiene conto del fatto che la rima deve essere in *-ire*.

XXXIX. ANTONELLO DA CASERTA - *BALLATA*[1]

Con dogliosi martire
Che 'l mio cor[e] tormenta
Romango descontenta,
Segnor mio caro, del vostro partire.

Via ve n'andate et io,
Lassa, romango sconsolatamente.
O dolce signor mio,
Per Dio ve prego, non v'esca di mente
Le lagreme dolente
Che nel partir gittasti
Quando che me lassasti
Quel dolze signo del to bon desire.
Con dogliosi martire etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita.

XL. ANTONELLO DA CASERTA - *BALLATA*[1]

Or tolta pur me sei da l'ochi mei,
Donna, per cui tant'ò cridat'omei!

Or, Morte, serai fine al mio languire
E l'ochi mei de lagrimar mai stanchi.
Dolze donna zentil(e), porai soffr[ire] [2]
Che i mei sospir(i) sian de spera[nza] manchi,
Che per mia pena or[a] son più franchi?
Merzè ve pr[ego] del mio dir [omei.]
[Or tolta pur me sei etc.]

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita.

[2] Le restituzioni suppliscono parti mancanti per la rifilatura del margine. Le espunzioni, fra parentesi tonde, mirano a ristabilire la misura dei versi.

XLI. ANTONELLO DA CASERTA - *BALLATA*[1]

Madonna, io me ramento
Del to polito viso
Formato in paradiso, [2]
Ahimè lasso, mischinel descontento!

Vegendome lontan da la figura
De quella fresca rosa colorita,
Mio cor dimora sempre con paura,

Non vegendo toa persona fiorita.
Ohimè, la departita
Quanto me fo noiosa!
Pur[3] mia vita angosciosa
In pianti et in martir io me tormento.
Madonna, io me ramento etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita.
[2] Le prima voce reca: *Tratto dal paradiso.*
[3] L'inchiostro è svanito nel ms. e la lettura è difficile.

XLII. ANTONIO DA CIVIDALE - *RONDEAU*[1]

Vous soyés tres bien venus
Mes loyauls et vrays amans,

Or ciantés de ius en sus.
Vous soyés etc.
Je me voj de bas in bus
En le nombre des cantans.
Vous soyés etc.

[1] Sconosciuto agli altri codici. Inedito.

XLIII. *VIRELAI*[1]

. . . . . .
Atandre . . . . . .

[1] Difficile è l'identificazione di questo *virelai*, dato che non ne rimane che la seconda parte del *contratenor* con una sola parola di testo. La forma poetica si desume dalla struttura musicale del frammento superstite.

XLIV. J. VAILLANT - *VIRELAI*[1]

Par maintes fois ay auy recorder
Du rosignol la douche melodie;
Mais ne s' i veut le cucu acorder,
Ains veut chanter contre li par envie:
Cucu, cucu, cucu! toute sa vie,
Quar il veut bien à son chant discorder.

Pour ce li dist li rosignol et crie:
— Je vous commant qu'on on le tue et ocie!
Tue, tue! oci, oci! fy de li!
Fy du cucu qui d'amours veut parler! —

Si vous suppli . . . . . .[2]

[1] Non mi risulta che questo testo sia stato edito.

[2] La seconda parte del *virelai* che comincia con queste parole si trovava sul *verso* della c. 75, che, avendo servito da involucro esterno ad un volume di atti notarili è lacera e tutta sbiadita, così che non si legge, eccetto quelle tre parole, più nulla.

XLV. GIOVANNI DA FOLIGNO - *BALLATA*[1]

Mercede, o donna! i' moro
E vui sì cruda state,
Al ciel che en dà tesoro
Ignuda de pietate.

Vui consumate el core,
Ohimè! cum pianti e guai
L'anima mia si more
per vui, che tanto amai.
Rencrescave ogimai
De mei martir penando,
E piazzave dar bando
A tanta crudeltate.
Mercede etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita.

XLVI. GIOVANNI CICONIA - *MADRIGALE*[1]

I cani sono fuora per le mosse.
Piangìti, volpe, i lacci e le taiole,
Chè per i vostri semi aveti scole!

Guardise, a chi la tochi, a questa caza,
Che a ciascun tratto non se dà riscosse,
Nè con mensura se dà le percosse.

Tristo chi per mal far si fa biscorso;
Ma pur el cielo si farà so corso[2].

[1] Sconosciuto agli altri codici. Edito da F. Ghisi, in *La Rinascita*, già cit., p. 76, e in *Archiv f. Musikforschung*, già cit., p. 20. Si tenga presente che la composizione si trova parte nel *verso* della c. 80 del codice di Lucca, parte sulla carta successiva che appartiene al frammento di Perugia.

[2] Mi pare così più aderente al senso complessivo, che la lettura *socorso* (= soccorso) del Ghisi.

XLVII. *BALLATA* [1]

Chi vole amar, ame cum vera fede.

Nulla cosa è megliore
Come 'l perfecto amore,
Nè che più digna sia d'aver merzede.
Chi vole amar etc.
Non è facto più iniquo
Come ingannar l'amico,
Quando in amor perfettamente crede.
Chi vole amar etc.
Non è di menor fruto [2]
L'amor benchè sia muto,
Che senza gran promesse amar se ve[de.]
Chi vole amar etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Edita, in parte, dal Ghisi (*La Rinascita,* già cit., p. 77; *Archiv f. Musikforschung* già cit. p. 21). Anche questa ballata, come la precedente, è suddivisa fra le stesse due carte contigue (80 e 81). Il Ghisi perciò pubblica solo le parti che sono in *MnP* cioè in vv. 1-2 e 8-10.

[2] Il Ghisi legge: *vanto.* Benchè la lettura sia resa difficile dallo stato della carta mi pare di leggere *frutto,* che ha anche il vantaggio di corrispondere meglio alle esigenze della rima.

XLVIII. G. CICONIA - *MADRIGALE* [1]

Cazando, un giorno, vidi una cervetta
Candida, tutta piena di costume,
Che 'l cor me aperse e par che me consume.

E lei seguendo, per farne vendetta,
Tosto mi sparve, sì ch'io non la vidi,
Gridando: — Segnor mio, perchè me sfidi? —

Alor si volse a la mia voce indegna;
Ivi se strinse et ivi fe' soa insegna.

[1] Sconosciuto agli altri codici. Edito da F. Ghisi (*La Rinascita,* già cit., p. 78; *Archiv f. Musikforschung,* già cit., p. 21).

XLIX. *BALLATA* [1]

Gli atti col danzar FRANCES CH' INAnzi passa
M'àn sì transfix' el cor c' ognun per ti lassa.

Tutto el mio dilecto si è de ti mirar
E ti pur m'ascondi la toa vaga luce.

(Deh), dolze mia donna, non me voler donar
Tanto gran pena, ch' a morte me conduce.
Per toa crudeltà la vita me 'se fuze,
se non consoli un poco l'anima lassa.
Gli atti etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Edita da F. Ghisi in *La Rinascita,* già cit., p. 79, e in *Archiv f. Musikforschung,* già cit., p. 21. Si tratta di dodecasillabi, rivolti ad una Franceschina, di cui si ha nel primo verso il « nome segreto ».

L. G. CICONIA - *MADRIGALE* [1]

Una pantera in compagnia de Marte,
Candido Jove d'un sereno adorno,
Costante è l' arm' e chi la guarda intorno.

Questa guberna la cità lucana: [2]
Con soa dolceza el ciel(o) [3] dispensa e dona,
Secondo el meritar, iusta corona,

Dando a ciascun mortal che ne sia degno
Triumfo, gloria e parte in questo regno.

[1] Sconosciuto agli altri codici. Edito dal Ghisi (*La Rinascita,* già cit., p. 80, e *Archiv f. Musikforschung,* già cit., p. 22) e, i due terzetti. dal Mancini (*op. cit.,* p. 86). Cioè la città di Lucca, che ha per stemma una pantera e si diceva fosse stata fondata da Marte.

[2] Espungo per ristabilire la misura del verso.

LI. *CANONE* [1]

L[e] ray au soleyl qui dret som kar meyne
En soy bracant [2] la douce tortorelle,
La quel compang [3] non onques renovelle,
A bon droyt sembla que en toy perfett regne.

[1] Sconosciuto agli altri codici. Edito dal Ghisi (*La Rinascita* già cit., pp. 80-81, e *Archiv f. Musikforschung,* già cit., p. 22).

[2] Così nel ms per *braçant.*

[3] Così nel ms per *compaing.*

LII. G. CICONIA - *BALLATA* [1]

Chi nel servir antico me conduce,
Splendor celeste par che 'n lei reluce,

Lucidi ragi manda più che 'l sole,
Ch 'ogn' altra stella col suo lume à smorta.

Parmi el smarrito cuor da me che vole
Subito ratto a la sua vista acorta.
Posto rimango ne l'estrema porta
Per seguitar con fede tanta luce.
Chi nel servir etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Edita dal Ghisi (*La Rinascita.* già cit., p. 83, e *Archiv f. Musikforschung,* già cit., p. 22).

LIII. G. CICONIA - *MADRIGALE* [1]

Per quella strada lactea del cielo,
De belle stelle ov' è 'l seren fermato,
Vedeva un carro andar tutto abrasato.

Coperto a drappi rossi de fin oro,
Tendea el timon verso anzoli cantando.
El carro triumfal vien su montando.

De verdI LAURI [2] corone menava,
Che d' alegreza el mondo verdezava.

[1] Sconosciuto agli altri codici. Edito dal Ghisi (*La Rinascita,* già cit., p.84, e *Archiv f. Musikforschung,* già cit. p. 23). Benchè sia scritto parte sulla c. 84, che appartiene al frammento di Perugia, parte sulla carta successiva, che è fra quelle lucchesi, il Ghisi lo pubblica per intero, perchè per intero i versi sono nella carta di Perugia.

[2] Non è assurdo pensare che qui, come nel ripetuto accenno al *carro,* si voglia adombrare il nome di Ilaria del Carretto.

LIV. G. CICONIA - *BALLATA* [1]

Poi che morir mi convien per to amore
Lassote, donna, el mio dolente core.

Ahi, lasso me, con pianti e con suspiri
Serà mia vita ormai e con dolore.
Ahimè, i' moro . . . . . .
. . . . . fenir d'ore in ore [2].
Merze, per Dio o caro mio tesore!
Abi pietà de mi to servitore.
Poi che morir etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita.

[2] Non si leggono più circa 25 lettere del verso 5 e una diecina del verso 6, il quale potrebbe restituirsi così: *Vedo mia vita fenir d'ore in ore.*

LV. *BALLATA* [1]

Piangono l'ochi e l'alma mia suspira
Per una donna che 'l mio cor desira.

Con grave doglia piango 'l mio dolore,
Chè più non averò consolamento
Per sta zudea che m' à ferito el core
Et pietà non à del mio grave [2] tormento.
O spechio e luce e 'l . . . . [3] mio contento,
Volgi i bel ochi e verso mi te gira.
Piangono l'ochi etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Edita da A. Mancini, *op. cit,* p. 91.

[2] Per ricondurre il verso alla sua giusta misura occorre o espungere l'*Et* iniziale, o mutare *grave* in *gran.*

[3] Nel ms. non c'è lacuna, ma evidentemente manca qualcosa per l'esatta misura del verso. Basterebbe un aggettivo (*sommo, vero* etc.).

LVI. *BALLATA* [1]

Ahimè, per tutto l'or una da undici
Del mondo [2] i' non lassare' e sua bellezza
Per consumare la somma dolcez[za];
Con meco è stata ad morte centododici.

Or chi sapesse i vall', i passi e i monti,
Jennar doventirò per non belare;
I miei capilli al ciel par che sien gionti;
Senza spirito in corpo parmi andare.
Ohimè! c' ognuno adosso uscir mi pare
Di là, di qua, come cani a le caccie,
Et èmi aviso che tutto mi straccie,
Et parmi andar(e) come fra gatt' i sorici.
Ahimè etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita.

[2] Nel ms. la *o* finale porta il segno dell'espunzione.

LVII. *RONDEAU* [1]

Ay las! quant ie pans le biauté de m'amour
Et d' autre part de pité au [2] li n'est mye,
Je quier la mort et ne cur de ma vie,
Et pour cest . . . [3] vis souvent cangie colour.

Avant languiray de d[ueil] et de tristour
Que d'au . . . [4] onques l'amour me li[e.]
[Ay las etc.]

A vous me rent, qui [m'avez] [5] en ba[lie]
E mort ou merçi vous qu[ier] tout iour.
Adonch que feray, ma metre[sse] d' onour?
Quar i' ay de painne . . . [6] plus que ne die.
Ay las etc.

[1] Sconosciuto agli altri codici. Inedito. Il testo presenta numerose lacune, dovute alla rifilatura del margine della carta.
[2] Forse sarà da correggere in *an* (*an li* = in lei).
[3] Una *n*, o parte di una *m*, è ancora leggibile. Forse sarà da restituire: *mon*.
[4] Forse: *d' autrui*.
[5] Restituisco per la misura del verso, ma nel ms non c'è in questo punto lacuna.
[6] Forse: *asez*.

LVIII. *BALLATA* [1]

Non credo, donna, che la dolce fiamma
Che accese l'alto core
Spenta mai fia per altro novo amore.

Tempo nè loco, qual distante fosse,
Qual più dagli ochi mei celato e tolto,
L'ardente spir(i)to [2] giammai non rimosse
Dal dolce recordar del to bel volto.
Et ogne mio pensiero in te ricolto
Desfà cum fiero ardore
El servo to, che per te vive et more.
Non credo, donna etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Inedita.
[2] Espungo per ristabilire la misura del verso.

LIX. NICOLO' DA PERUGIA - *BALLATA* [1]

Tal sotto l'acqua pesca
Et crede ch' i' nol veza,
Ch' io li torò la rete, el pesce e l'esca [2].

I' son chiamato matto
Perch' io fo vista pur di non vedere;
Ma io starò guatto, [3]
Che mai alcun (non) [4] se pente per tacere.
Or dica a suo piacere
Chi me tien cucuveza,
Ch'io tempo aspetto et armo la betresca [5].

[1] Edita dal Cappelli *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45. È da mettere in relazione col madrigale *Tal mi fa guerra,* musicato dallo stesso Nicolò (cfr. Carducci, *Opere,* vol. VIII della 1ª ediz., p. 385), a cui par che risponda. I due testi per la loro estrosità moraleggiante ricordano lo stile del Soldanieri.

[2] Nella 2ª voce: *el pesso e la lesca.*

[3] Cioè: *quattro (FL).*

[4] Espungo per ristabilire la misura del verso.

[5] Cioè: *bertesca.*

LX. *BALLATA* [1]

Fugir non posso dal tuo dolze volto
Però 'l cor tu m' ài furato [2] e tolto.

I' fui ferito, Amor, sì dolzemente [3]
Dal tuo lizadro e gratioso aspetto,
Quando con l' ochi a rider me consente [4]
Con dolce volto pien d' ogni diletto.
Però so' fermo d' esser tuo sugetto
E mai el cor serà da te disciolto.
Fugir non posso etc.

[1] Edita da E. Filippini (*Per Nozze Filippini-Scarpelli,* Fabriano, 1893, pag. 16) da G. Lisio (*Una stanza del Petrarca musicata dal Dufay,* Bologna 1893) e forse (non è stato possibile controllarlo) da A. Valle (*Per Nozze Somaini-Santini,* Como 1893).

[2] In *BU ferito,* che è la lezione seguita dal Filippini. La lezione *furato* è confermata invece da *Pc.*

[3] Nella secondo voce: *dolcemente.*

[4] *BU*: *Quando cum i ochy a rider sì me consente.*

LXI. ANDREA STEFANI - *BALLATA* [1]

I' senti' matutino
Sonar dopo le squille,
Et po' ben più di mille
Galli cantar matino.

Po' dopo questi tanti
Cani abaiare 'n frotta
Et poco stant' [2] allotta
Udi' un trombettino.

Io, ascoltando questo,
Senti' gli altri stormenti,
Che più di centoventi
Parien col tamborino.
I' senti' etc.

Et poco stant' ancora
Udi' sì ben cantare
E drieto po' sonare
Trombett' e 'l naccarino.
I' senti' matutino etc.

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Ed. da E. Li Gotti in *Orientamenti culturali,* III, fasc. 1-3, pag. 39. Le sole due prime strofe erano state edite da A. Mancini in *Atti dell'Acc. Naz. dei Lincei* già cit., p. 90. Per la forma metrica cfr. Appendice.

[2] Seconda voce: *stando allotta.*

LXII. BARTOLINO DA PADOVA - *MADRIGALE* [1]

Imperiale, sedendo fra più stelle,
Dal ciel discese un carro d'onor degno.
Sotto un segnor [2] d' ogn' altro via [3] benegno.

Le rote soe guidavan quattro done:
Iustitia e Temperantia con Fortezza,
Et am [4] Prudentia con [5] cotanta altezza.

Nel mezo un saracin [6] con l'ale d' oro
Tene' 'l fabricator del so tesoro.

[1] Ed. da E. Li Gotti in *Poesie musicali ital. del sec. XIV,* pp. 50-51.

[2] Seconda voce *signor.*

[3] Così in ambedue le voci e anche in *PR; FI* ha invece *più. Mod* ha *ma,* che credo debba essere la lezione giusta (*ma'* = mai). Infatti è facile che da *ma* sia venuta l'errata lettura *via.*

[4] *PR* reca *Et an,* mentre *FL* e *Mod.* mancano di questo verso. Probabilmente la lezione giusta doveva essere *Etiam.*

[5] *PR: tra,* che mi pare lezione migliore.

[6] Così anche *FL* e *PR;* ed è lezione preferibile a quella di *Mod.* (*sarayn*), perchè il saracino alato si trova effigiato su alcune monete dei Carraresi.

LXIII. *BALLATA* [1]

A tanti òmini tanti volere.
Di' quel che tu vôi, io voio tacere.

Amor perfetto e lialmente servire
Ven cognoscuda [2] e volentier premia.
Ogni cosa ven me(se) [3] fin al morire
Per sovegnire un al bisogno en via.

El n' è mestier che chi ama una fia
Tosto son presti [4] ad ogne bon [6] piacere.
A tanti òmini etc.

[1] Sconosciuta ad altri codici. Testo certamente guasto.
[2] Così nel ms. per *cognoscudo*.
[3] Probabilmente *mese* è corruzione di *men*.
[4] Così il ms., forse per *s'appresti*.
[5] Forse per *so* o *suo*.

LXIV. *BALLATA* [1]

O cuor del corpo mio, perchè me fai
Senza cason morire ad sì gran torto?
Ch 'io so di chiaro, quando m'av(e)rai [2] morto,
Che mille volte te ne pentirai.

Et sospirando più volte dirai:
— Ahi, lassa me, ch'io non li die' conforto! — [3]
. . . . . .

[1] Sconosciuta agli altri codici. Edita dal Mancini, *op. cit.* p. 91.
[2] Espungo la *e* per ristabilire la misura del verso.
[3] Che si tratti di un testo in forma di ballata, malgrado l'uguaglianza di rime fra ripresa e piede, è confermato dalla disposizione della musica e dal confronto con una lauda del cod. Chigiano 577, che si cantava con la stessa musica.

LXV. *BALLATA* [1]

Mille merzè, o cara mia luce! [2]
Aiuta l' anima [3] mia che se destruzze.

Amaramente (ben [4]) me vezo languire,
Zentil madonna, per vostra durezza;
Voria per vostre mano omay morire
A starelarme [5], poi che vostra altezza
Non dice [6] e' mia rason audire.
Et pur ve adoro et chiamove mia duce.
Mille merzè etc.

[1] Sconosciuta ad altri codici. Inedita.
[2] O *mia* è bisillabo, o è da integrare, più probabilmente, *la mia luce*.
[3] Da ridurre a *alma*, per ristabilire la misura del verso.
[4] Da espungere per ristabilire la misura del verso.
[5] Confesso di non intendere in questo punto il testo che è probabilmente guasto.
[6] Anche qui il verso è guasto e manca almeno di una sillaba. *Dice* = *decet*, oppure si deve correggere in *lice*.

LXVI. *RONDEAU* [1]

Je suy, madame, en departir
Da vous, tres belle e douch amya.
Adieu, adieu, tout [2] ma via,
Trestout ma ioye e mon plaisir!

A vous ie las tout sans falir
Mon cuer, ma arme [3] e ma balia.
Je suy etc.
De retorner prendray desir
N' aiés a mal ma departia.
Marsi, per Dio, ne obliés mia
La ma gran paine e mon martir.
Je suy etc.

[1] Sconosciuto ad altri codici. Inedito.
[2] Forse *trestout* per ristabilire la misura del verso.
[3] Cioè: *la mia anima.*

LXVII. *VIRELAI* [1]

Merci, merci, noble creature
. . . . . .

[1] Di questo sconosciuto *virelai* non abbiamo che un verso solo; il rimanente doveva trovarsi nella carta precedente, che manca.

LXVIII. *MADRIGALE* [1]

O pensier(i) [2] vani, o speranza fallace,
O mente cieca, o core chè tardi?
Non t' acorgi del foco in che tu ardi?

El tempo in futuro mai non s' aspetta
Et tu, vechio, in utele ài fermezza
Et non t' avedi che mort' è ta frezza.

— Ay lasso, ben vezo ogni mio male;
Valesse el pentir, come non vale! —

[1] Sconosciuto ad altri codici. Solo la prima terzina e il ritornello sono editi da A. Mancini (*op. cit.*, p. 91).
[2] Espungo per ristabilire la misura del verso.

LXIX. *BALLATA* [1]

Deh, tristo mi topinello,
Che sum zunto al dereanpunto [2]
Che non manzarò più d'unto
Se non pane et rafanello.

El pan serà de mestura,
Sozzo e negro com(o) [3] carbone;
Quella serà (la) [4] mia pastura
De mi, povero compagnone.
Non posso manzar bocone
Tanto è negro e ruzinente;
El me se ficca infra el dente.
Possa [5] bevo d'un merello.

Non manzarò più salcizza,
Nè de grassi caponcelli;
Nanci [6] manzarò panizza
Con de magri buratelli.
Ampo avesse io de tortelli,
Che mi porìa ben passare;
Ma el me convirà manzare
(De) la fava a mo' de porcello [7].
Deh, tristo mi topinello etc.

[1] Sconosciuta ad altri codici. Solo a c. 184 del cod. detto di Bonadies della Bibl. Comunale di Faenza si trova la prima strofe (mal trascritta dal copista) in un canto a due voci attribuito a un Giovanni de Erfordia, del quale lo stesso ms. contiene altre composizioni. Il Roncaglia, da cui traggo la notizia (cfr. *Atti e Memorie della R. Acc. di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Modena*, serie V, vol. IV, 1939, p. 8-9 dell'estratto) identifica J. de Erfordia (inglese, da Hereford, o tedesco, da Erfurt?) con un frate minorita vissuto verso il 1330 (cfr. Eitner, *Quellenlexikon*); ma lo stile della musica contraddice questa identificazione, dacchè mostra trattarsi di musicista vissuto nel sec. XV. Il testo è edito da A. Mancini, *op. cit.* p. 92 (soltanto i primi sei versi).

[2] Il Mancini intende: *al deretan punto.*

[3] Espungo la vocale (che del resto nel ms è aggiunta sulla *m*) per ristabilire la misura del verso.

[4] Espungo per ristabilire la misura del verso.

[5] Cioè *poscia.*

[6] Cioè *innanzi.*

[7] Le restituzioni suppliscono alle lacune determinate dalla rifilatura del margine della carta. Espungo *De* per ristabilire la misura del verso.

LXX. *BALLATA* [1]

Spinato intorno al cor come spinoso
M' à una spina, et tanto me punge:
Prima deposta a prima fine giunge [2];
Ismemorato m'a quel fior gioioso.

Le labre rosse so' d' *Un fior gentile*
E la boca pichina de *Rosetta* [4].
El viso e 'l sguardo angelico et umile
Passato m' à lo cor d'una saietta.
O sexquitertia de maior perfetta,
Breve deliberate che sia mia
Quella che seco porta l'alma mia,
Che lo mio spir(i)to [5] abia un pocho riposo.
Spinato etc.

[1] Sconosciuta ad altri codici. Inedita.

[2] In una voce: *et giunge.*

[3] Nel ms.: *so d'un Un fior gentile.* Qui e alla fine del verso seguente sono indicati i capoversi di due composizioni di Antonio Zacara da Teramo, che si trovano pure nel nostro codice.

[4] Espungo per ristabilire la misura del verso.

LXXI. FRANCESCO LANDINI - *BALLATA* [1]

S' i' ti so' stato e vogl' esser fedele
Perchè non driz' [2] a piatà le tuo vele?

Cruda, selvagia donna, bell' e vaga,
I' pur ti vincerò di lunga prova
E non farà tua durezza tal piaga
Ch' al servirte [3] mie fe' non sia più nova;
La qual, cercando, altro modo non truova
Per farti ben piatosa di crudele [4].
S' i' ti etc.

[1] Edita da E. Filippini, *Sedici poesie erotiche italiane* (Per nozze Filippini-Scarpelli), Fabriano, 1893, p. 6; e da L. Ellinwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62. L'Alvisi, *op. cit.*, p. 119, ricorda una lauda del Chigiano 577 che si cantava sulla stessa musica.

[2] *Pad: volgi.*

[3] *Pad: ch' a servir te; FL: Ch' a servir la mie fe'.*

[4] *Pad: de merzede.*

LXXII. ANDREA STEFANI - *BALLATA* [1]

Con tutta gentilezza,
Vezos' e ssì pulita,
Dinanzi m' è parita [2]
Questa fanciulla con somma bellezza.

Ell' à il capo biondo
Et d'oro li capelli,
Col bel viso giocondo
E gli occhi vaghi e belli,
Isguardando con quelli
A guisa di due stelle
C[on] le sue luci belle
Piene d' amor[e] [3] con tutta dolcezza.

Ell'è onesta e pia
E tutta gratiosa
E più c' altra giulìa,
Lieta e amorosa,
Chè solo in lei si posa
Ogni virtù d' amore,
e d' un vivo colore
È 'l suo bel viso pien d' ogni addornezza [4].

[1] Sconosciuta ad altri codici. Edita da E. Li Gotti (in *Orientamenti culturali*, III, fasc. 1-3, pag. 38).

[2] Veramente nel ms fra *è* e *parita* c'è un segno, che lega la *e* con la *p* e non si può interpretare come *s* e tanto meno come *a*; è forse il raddoppiamento della *p*.

[3] Le restituzioni sono di lettere mancanti per la rifilatura del margine.

[4] Nel ms si trova a questo punto l'indicazione: *mancaci due stanze.*

LXXIII. ANDREA STEFANI - *MADRIGALE* [1]

Morte m' à sciolt', Amor, d' ogni tuo legge.
Quella ch' era mie donn' al ciel n' è ggita
Lasciando trist' e llibera mie vita.

Ond'io, dolce signor, no spero mai
Esser di donna fedel servidore
Ch' en tera a questa donna di valore,

La qual nel paradis' or vive 'n pace
In quella gloria del Signor verace.

[1] Sconosciuto ad altri codici. Ed. da E. Li Gotti (in *Orientamenti culturali*, già citato, pag. 39). La prima terzina e il ritornello sono stati pubblicati anche da A. Mancini, *op. cit.*, pag. 96.

LXXIV. *BALLATA*[1]

S' avesse forza o[2] sdegno quanto amore
Io non sare' fedele
A tte, donna crudele,
Ma libero sarebb'oggi 'l mie core.

Se t' è caro 'l mie male
Et dolze la mie pena,
I' son contento, po' che a tte piace.
Dammi pur saver tale
Et forza tanta e lena
Ch' i' sostenga el cor[3] che ssi disface.
Se da' belli ochi non ò triegua o pace
Morte potrìe bene ella
Tormi a tte, donna [bella];
Ma sdegno no, nè ira,[4] nè furore.
Se etc.

[1] Sconosciuta ad altri codici. L'Alvisi ne ricorda il capoverso come indicazione della musica di una lauda. Edita da E. Li Gotti (in *Orientamenti culturali,* già cit., pag. 40). L'intonatore è, a mio modo di vedere, Bonaiuto Corsini (cfr. E. Levi, *Botteghe e canzoni della vecchia Firenze,* Bologna 1928, pp. 5-22; ed E. Li Gotti, *Restauri trecenteschi,* Palermo 1947, pp. 103-05). L'indicazione del nome dell'intonatore è, nel codice, di mano più recente e rifilata a metà dal taglio del margine; sicchè, per quello che si legge, pare si debba intendere *Mingacius pitor.* Ma un Mingacius, pittore e musico, non mi risulta mai esistito nel '300 o nella prima metà del '400; sarebbe molto strano trovarne una sola composizione fra tanti codici musicali solo in *Mn,* e, nel testo poetico, di mano toscana. Viceversa un Bonaiuto (Corsini) pittore e musico è esistito in Firenze, appunto sullo scorcio del sec. XIV e i primi anni del XV, e fu persona di ingegno strambo e di modi bislacchi, e di lui abbiamo altre composizioni in altri codici. Siccome è facile paleograficamente risalire da *Mingacius* a *Bonaiutus* (stesso numero di sillabe e tali che da una *B* maiuscola possa venire, per errata lettura, una *M,* e da una *j* una *g,* come da una *t* una *c*) possiamo supporre che *Mingacius* sia uno sbaglio di chi aggiunse quel nome. Preferisco cioè supporre un errore di lettura, anzichè dare la cittadinanza musicale ad un fantomatico Mingacius, di cui non si saprebbe nulla, tranne l'avere intonato questa ballata. Se così è, si deve immaginare anche chi aggiunse il nome *Mingacius* in *Mn* non sia stato fiorentino, o abbia vissiuto in epoca già lontana.

[2] Nel ms l' *o* è sbiadito, fino al punto di essere quasi cancellato in una delle due voci.

[3] Bisogna probabimente restituire *mio cor,* per la misura del verso.

[4] Nel ms questo passo è cancellato e corretto poi come segue: *ma ira no, nè sdegno.*

LXXV. PAOLO DA FIRENZE - *BALLATA* [1]

La vaga luce che ffa invidi' al sole
Quando si mostra (d)avant' [2] agli ochi miei,
I' tremo di dolceza e dico: Ohimei!

Omè! Ohimè! Ohimè! vedi ch' i' moro
Per quelle treze d'oro
Che m' annodaro 'l cor, ch' i' port' anciso.
NE 'N CIO LI SA, nè chied'altro tesoro, [4]
chè quell'alma ch' adoro
Discesa [4] in terra par del paradiso.
Et quasi 'l corpo dall' alm' è diviso,
El che mi dole, et non so [5] s' i' vorrei
Sol per uscir di tanti affanni rei.

[1] Inedita. Nel ms è anonima, ma in *P* si trova nel gruppo delle intonazioni di Paolo da Firenze; anzi con *Se non ti piacque* (che si trova in *Lo)* è l'unica fra le composizioni di Paolo che si trova fuori della silloge di *P.* Altri codici infatti non recano testi di Paolo. Si aggiunga che all'inizio la ballata petrarcheggia, così come era solito fare Paolo (che era anche poeta), e che inoltre essa reca due toscanissimi « nomi segreti », *Nencio* e *Lisa.* Con la composizione successiva (che è pure dell'ambiente di Paolo) e con le precedenti composizioni di Bonaiuto e di Andrea Stefani, costituisce la sezione toscana, più recente, del codice. Su Paolo si veda il saggio di E. Li Gotti e N. Pirrotta in *Estudios dedicados a Menèndez Pidal,* vol. II.

[2] Espungo per ristabilire la misura del verso.

[3] Variante di *P: el vede altro tesoro.*

[4] *P: che scesa.*

[5] *P: Nè so.*

LXXVI. *BALLATA* [1]

Tra speranza e fortuna pur m' agiro
Et rimedio non trov' al mie martiro.

Et quanto più mi sforzo più m'aretra
Da sè quel volto, che mi pres' all' esca
Di duo belli ochi più duri che petra
In [2] che invano la mia lenza pesca.
[Ma io non] [3] finirò per[ò] [4] la tresca
Del mio seguire per quel viso ch' i' miro [5].

[1] Inedita. Anonima anche in *P;* seppure non è di Paolo, certo è dell'ambiente e del tempo in cui questi componeva, perchè ne riflette assai lo stile.

[2] La carta è assai sciupata e la lettura, qui e in altri punti, difficile; in *P* si ha *in.*

[3] Restituisco servendomi di *P,* perchè il passo è illeggibile.

[4] Restituisco secondo la lezione di *P;* in *Mn* la *o* è cancellata.

[5] Così nel ms. La lezione però non dà senso ed ha una sillaba di troppo. Più corretta forse è la lezione di *P: D'amor seguire pel viso ch' i miro.*

APPENDICE AI TESTI

N. P.

Alla pubblicazione dei testi poetici contenuti in *Mn* facciamo seguire la trascrizione di tre composizioni musicali nelle quali il rapporto fra testo e musica presenta qualche insolita particolarità.

Il testo dialogico della ballata *Donna poss'io sperare* (n. 23) intonata da Nicolò da Perugia è una ennesima variazione del motivo del « contrasto » fra una donna e il suo corteggiatore. A ben considerare si rivela, anzi, come una lontana discendenza imborghesita della « pastourelle » cavalleresca, anche se la donna di pastorale più altro non conserva che la spiccia bruscheria delle maniere con cui si libera dalle insistenze del suo adoratore. Quanto a questi, benchè di rango sociale più elevato, non è più il cavaliere della tradizione; il titolo di messere induce piuttosto a raffigurarlo in una di quelle ridicole figure di sparuti notai che così spesso fanno le spese della novellistica del tempo. Ciò che ci interessa è, comunque, il fatto che le battute del dialogo sono alternate regolarmente fra le due voci, così che il loro ordine — almeno per quella parte del testo che nel codice è sottoposta alle note della musica — risulta soltanto dalla trascrizione in partitura. Così viene a chiarirsi anche che la prima battuta di testo, attribuita alla voce inferiore e tosto replicata (— *Dici a me?* —), è una zeppa, introdotta probabilmente dal musicista per interrompere il prolungato esordio della prima voce. Accogliendola nel testo il primo verso risulterebbe un decasillabo; ciò che è poco probabile ed urta con lo schema metrico della volta il cui primo verso è un settenario.

Musicalmente la composizione è piuttosto povera; la polifonia per molti tratti non esiste nemmeno, poichè le due voci si alternano nel far pausa ciascuna mentre l'altra canta, e si uniscono in simultaneità soltanto nei melismi che talora aprono o chiudono i singoli versi. Pure essa è opera di un maestro già noto per composizioni ben altrimenti ricche sia dal punto di vista espressivo che tecnico; così che è evidente che lo scarnirsi della polifonia corrisponde qui ad un preciso intento; probabilmente a quello pratico di rendere possibile l'esecuzione in forma di una specie di mimo giullaresco. Una intenzione caricaturale è, del resto, anche nell'attribuire le battute femminili alla voce più grave, e viceversa quelle maschili alla voce superiore, che è più ricca di gorgheggi. È inoltre probabile, sopratutto per la voce inferiore, una esecuzione in parte vocale, in parte strumentale.

La ballata diverge dalla consuetudine del tempo per ciò che riguarda il trattamento musicale della stanza. D'abitudine il compositore si limitava a dare, oltre quella della ripresa, l'intonazione del solo primo piede della stanza, intendendosi che il secondo piede si adattasse alla stessa musica del primo, e la volta a quella della ripresa. Nel caso presente si ha invece l'intonazione della stanza scritta tutta per disteso, con i due piedi, brevissimi, dissimili nella chiusa e la volta coincidente con la ripresa soltanto nella musica dell'ultimo verso. La variante fu certamente suggerita dall'intento di non rallentare il serrato dialogo a botta e risposta dei due interlocutori con la ripetizione del melisma iniziale della ripresa.

Tale accorgimento fa dubitare dell'opportunità di inserire, al termine della prima stanza, la replica della ripresa, che peraltro non è indicata nel ms. La seconda stanza continua il dialogo con lo stesso ritmo serrato e con uguale distribuzione delle battute. sicchè la musica della prima vi si adatta perfettamente. Meno naturale — da un

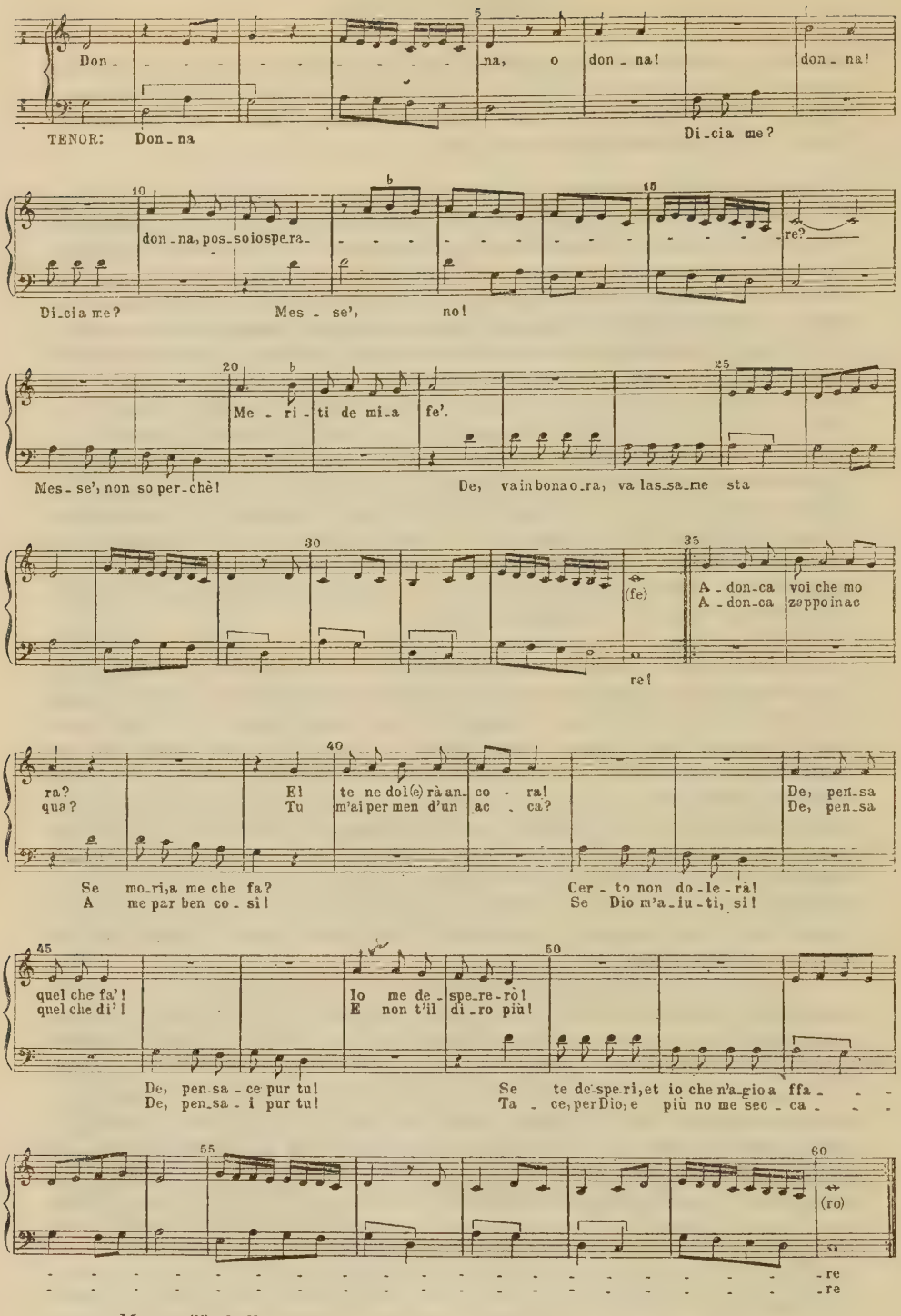
punto di vista moderno — è immaginare l'adattamento della stessa musica ancora una volta per la terza e ultima stanza, che è una sconsolata perorazione dell'innamorato respinto, senza più dialogo. Non si può tuttavia escluderlo. sol che si pensi, per analogia, a tutta la lirica madrigalistica del secolo XVI.

La seconda composizione di cui si dà la trascrizione è la ballata *Je suis navvrés tan fort* (n. 31) intonata da Antonio Zacara da Teramo. Anche in questa composizione la trascrizione in partitura è d'ausilio all'esatta ricostruzione del testo. Ne emerge infatti che il testo principale è distribuito fra le due voci più importanti della composizione polifonica, il *cantus* e il *tenor*, anche qui in una specie di dialogo, benchè questo non abbia l'evidenza drammatica di quello della composizione precedente. La situazione è ancora complicata dall'esistenza di un secondo testo, anch'esso in forma di ballata, affidato per intero alla terza voce, il *contratenor*. Il nesso fra i due testi è poco evidente, anche perchè di nessuno dei due è chiaro il senso. L'oscurità furbesca e allusiva è del resto caratteristica quasi costante dei testi posti in musica da Zacara da Teramo. Nel caso presente dal guazzabuglio trilingue risulta soltanto una certa simmetria di parole (se non di concetti, che ci sfuggono) fra il testo francese delle due prime voci e quello misto di latino e di italiano della terza voce. L'allusione a Firenze attraverso l'anagramma contenuto nel secondo verso del testo principale, parrebbe confermata dall'accento vernacolare tipicamente fiorentino dell'inizio del secondo testo (*Gnaff'a le guagnele!* etc.). Anche in questa ballata è molto probabile che l'esecuzione fosse distribuita alternativamente fra strumenti e voci.

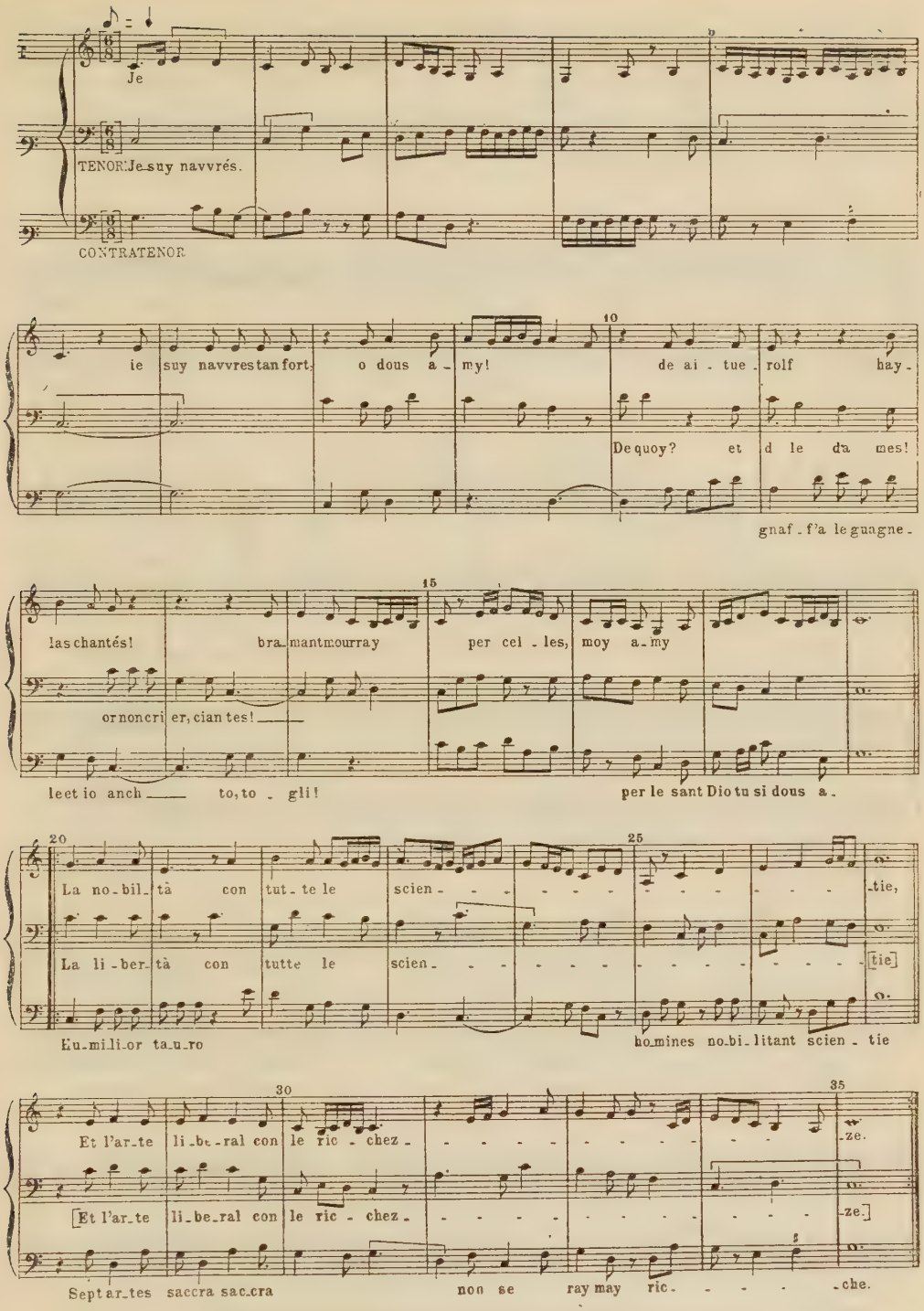
Il testo della terza composizione qui trascritta, *I' senti' matutino* (n. 61), intonata da Andrea Stefani, non presenta per sè stesso difficoltà. L'anomalia per la quale la composizione si fa notare sta nella divergenza fra la forma metrica e il suo trattamento musicale. Metricamente infatti il testo è quello che nella terminologia del tempo si diceva una ballata *minima*, una ballata, cioè, nella quale ciascuna delle parti costitutive dello schema metrico — ripresa, piedi, volta — è ridotta ad un solo verso. Prima irregolarità, nel caso nostro, è che le tre stanze che seguono la prima dovrebbero constare ciascuna di tre soli versi (i due piedi e la volta). Ne hanno invece quattro, risultando così del tutto simmetriche alla prima stanza. Ma il musicista (che il Li Gotti presume essere anche autore del testo) ha ignorato del tutto la difficoltà sorgente da questo verso in più, mettendo in musica non, come avrebbe dovuto, i primi due versi, ma le prime due stanze.

È evidente che così facendo ha inteso trattare il primo gruppo di settenari come una ripresa di quattro versi. I dubbi sorgono nei riguardi della musica dei successivi quattro versi (metricamente la seconda stanza). Infatti per considerarla come intonazione per disteso della stanza (analogamente a quanto si è riscontrato nella ballata di Nicolò da Perugia) ci attenderemmo almeno l'uguaglianza della chiusa, la cosidetta rima musicale che corrisponde alla rima finale costante del testo in tutte le stanze. D'altra parte se si considera il brano come intonazione di un singolo piede, cui dovrebbe seguire immediatamente l'altro simmetrico, ci si trova in difficoltà perchè l'ultima quartina resta isolata senza la dovuta ripetizione simmetrica. La soluzione del dubbio non ha comunque eccessivo interesse per sè stessa; il fatto è notevole soltanto come indizio di un attenuarsi della percezione di valori formali della ballata.

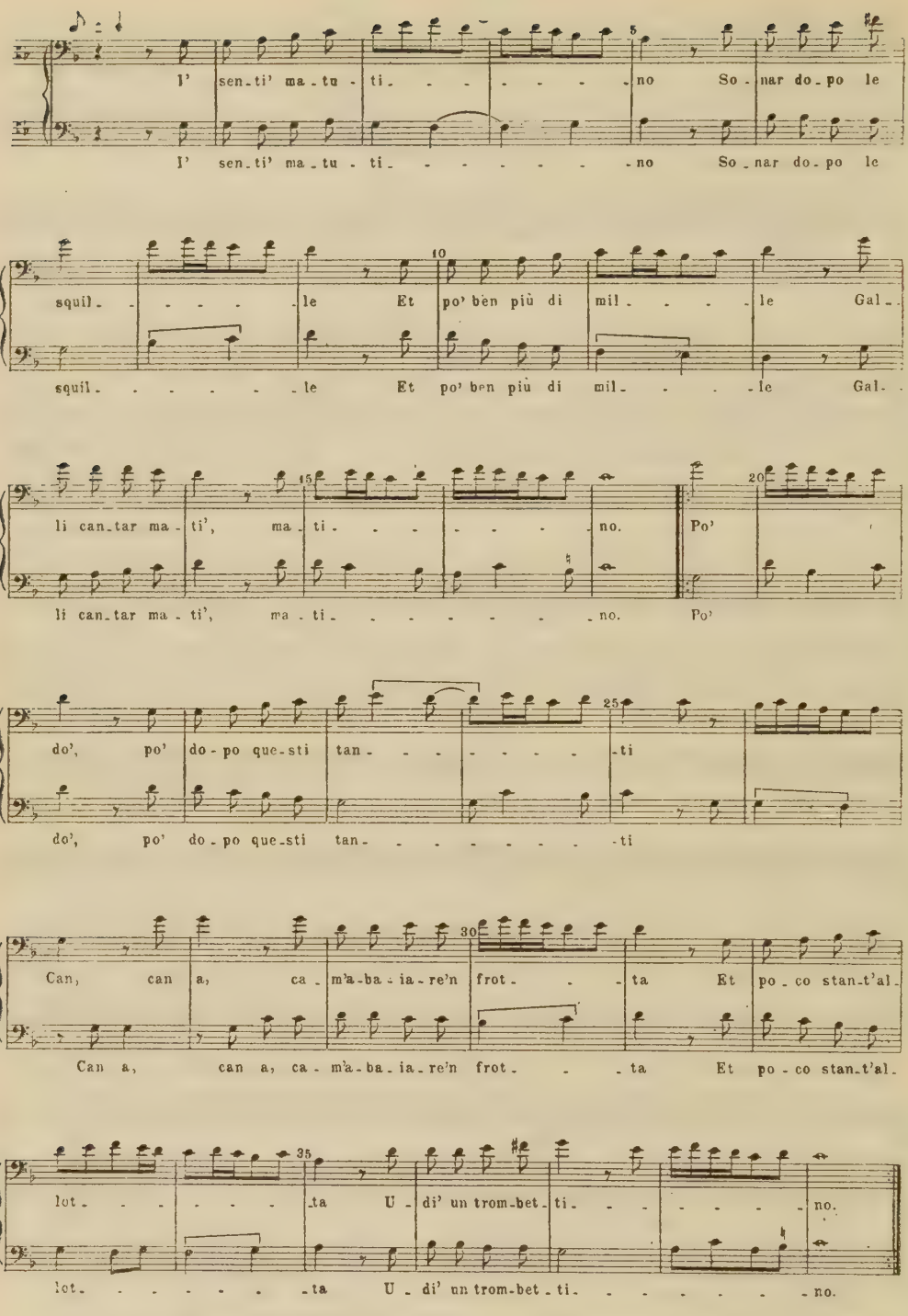
Palermo.


TENOR: Don - na
Di - cia me?
don - na, pos - so io spe - ra -
Di - cia me?
Mes - se',
no!
re?
Me - ri - ti de mi - a fe'.
Mes - se', non so per - chè!
De, vain bona o - ra, va las - sa - me sta
(fe)
re!
A - don - ca voi che mo
A - don - ca zappo in ac
ra?
qua?
E!
Tu
te ne dol(e)rà an - co - ra!
m'ai per men d'un ac - ca?
De, pen - sa
De, pen - sa
Se mo - ri, a me che fa?
A me par ben co - sì!
Cer - to non do - le - rà!
Se Dio m'a - iu - ti, sì!
quel che fa'!
quel che di'!
Io me de - spe - re - rò!
E non t'il di - ro più!
De, pen - sa - ce pur tu!
De, pen - sa - i pur tu!
Se te de - spe - ri, et io che n'a - gio a ffa - - -
Ta - ce, per Dio, e più no me sec - ca - - -
(ro)
- re
- re

Mn n. 23: ballata *Donna, posso io sperare* di Ser Niccolò del Preposto.


Je
TENOR Je suy navvrés.
CONTRATENOR
ie suy navvrestan fort o dous a my!
de ai tue rolf hay
De quoy? et d le da mes!
gnaf f'a le guagne
las chantés! bra mantmourray per cel les, moy a my
or non cri er, cian tes!
leet io anch to, to gli!
per le sant Dio tu si dous a
La no bil tà con tut te le scien tie,
La li ber tà con tutte le scien [tie]
Eu mili or ta u ro
homines no bi litant scien tie
Et l'ar te li be ral con le ric chez ze.
[Et l'ar te li be ral con le ric chez ze.]
Sept ar tes saccra sac cra
non se ray may ric che.

Mn n. 31: ballata *Je suy navvrés tan fort* di Magister Antonius Zachara da Teramo.


l' sen_ti' ma_tu - ti_ - - - - - no So_nar do_po le
squil_ - - - - le Et po' ben più di mil_ - - - le Gal_
li can_tar ma_ti', ma_ti_ - - - - - no. Po'
do', po' do_po que_sti tan_ - - - - - ti
Can, can a, ca_m'a_ba_ia_re'n frot_ - - ta Et po_co stan_t'al_
lot_ - - - - ta U_di' un trom_bet_ti_ - - - - no.

Mn n. 61: ballata *I' senti matutino* di Andrea Stefani.

ANTOINE DE FEVIN

A Bio-bibliographical Contribution *

B. KAHMANN (*Rotterdam*)

I.

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Not without reason do we use this term. Not modesty but facts force us to use such a vague title. Like many people of this period Fevin affords very few data for a *curriculum vitae*. Collecting biographical material dispersed here and there, and not always correct, one obtains quantitatively and qualitatively meagre results, and this based often on sheer hypothesis. By no means may one make a biography out of them, however unpretending. Available information on the life of Fevin has given no rounded-off image and does not show a line that one might follow safely throughout his existence. What may be called biographical material is exhausted in a few sentences.

« En historire il faut se résoudre à ignorer beaucoup ». It is however one thing to expect to find little, but quite another to submit to this. And though we were prepared from the first not to discover everything, now we have to resign ourselves to missing even essentials. So the object of this chapter cannot be anything else than to present to the reader the few certain facts connected with Fevin's life that are known to us. Moreover, the reader may claim that any evidence found in divers authors should be valued and tested by independently certain facts. This checking and verification will benefit Fevin's person, as thus may be dispelled the vagueness that has sentenced him to be, in fact, no more than a mere name in the musical « Who's

* From a dissertation *Antoine de Fevin, contributo alla storia di un musicista e di uno stile*, offered to the Papal Institute for Sacred Music, we intend to give here a few chapters in order to bring to the fore this little-known figure out of the great days of French-Flemish polyphony.

The subdivision is determined by two aspects: life and works. Thus we give first a biographical exposé, after this a survey of his works, and as a conclusion a general appreciation of Fevin as a musician.

Who ». At the same time this investigation will enable us to give an outline of his life.

The first author who mentions Fevin (on the poet Crétin we shall speak later) is Glareanus in his *Dodecachordon*[1]. He supplies us with a biographical detail, a starting-point at least. In his famous treatise he mentions « Antonius de Fevin, Aurclianensis symphoneta ». A very simple notice about the origin of our musician. The epithet « Aurelianensis » means: from Orleans. Apart from what Glareanus may have meant by this - to be seen later - we find that from this moment on all who mention him assert that Fevin was born in Orleans. Thus Braine[2], Walter[3], Gerber[4], Burney[5], Fétis[6], Ambros[7], Riemann[8]. From what follows we think it may be concluded that Fevin did not hail from Orleans but from Arras.

De Puisieux has dedicated a study to the Fevin family[9], and here we have some unquestionable evidence, the more so as the documents on which he bases his conclusions have an absolutely authentic character. First there are the archives of the family itself, formerly as Ms 1154 in the library of Arras. Unfortunately this document was destroyed in the fire of the year 1915[10]. Then there are other valuable sources like the *Mémoires généalogiques* of Dom le Pez[11] and the *Chronique de Claude de Doresmieulx*[12], a descendant of the family who lived in the later half of the 16th century.

De Puisieux traces the genealogy of de Fevin with meticulous care from c. 1400 to 1560; the years during which Antoine lived fall certainly between these two dates. From this genealogy it becomes clear that our musician belongs to the same family. He is located by De Puisieux as follows: « Pierre de Fevin, écuyer, seigneur de Graincourt et de Gərinet, échevin d'Arras en 1474, avait épousé Perinne Milon, morte le 6 Avril 1523. Il mourut le 14 Octobre 1506, ayant eu pour enfants: 1) Philippe qui suit; 2) Antoine, prêtre, chantre du Roi Louis XII, mort à Blois »[13].

[1] H. Glareanus, *Dodecachordon*, Basel, 1547.
[2] M. C. Braine, *Des hommes illustres de l'Orléanais*, p. 72.
[3] J. G. Walter, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, Dear, Leipzig, 1732.
[4] E. Gerber, *Hist.-biographisches Lexicon*, Breitkopf, Leipzig 1790-92.
[5] Ch. Burney, *A General History of Music*, 1776.
[6] F. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, tome III, Paris, 1886.
[7] A. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Leipzig, 1893.
[8] H. Riemann, *Musiklexicon*, 11. Auflage, Hesse, Leipzig, 1929.
[9] De Puisieux, « Pierre de Fevin », *Bull. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Picard*, 1909-1910, p. 325.
[10] J. Delporte, *Missa Ave Maria de A. de Fevin*, Desclée, Paris, 1934.
[11] Cfr. Vol. III, p. 129 and 586.
[12] Vol. I, p. 299 sqq.
[13] De Puisieux *Op. cit.*

In the light of this document it becomes difficult to accept Orleans as the native city of Fevin. Antoine was born presumably in Arras, as the son of an alderman, or to be more correct — since we have not yet spoken of the date of his birth — shortly before his father held the office of alderman.

In order to become acquainted with the character of the family to which Fevin belonged, we ought to take a closer view of the pedigree. It seems that the name is connected with the place of the origin, now called Febvin-Palfart, not far from St. Omer, Pa[illegible] de Calais. In the year 1396 a Jean de Fevin, « chevalier », is admitted as « citizen of Arras » [14]. With this begins the Fevins' stay at or at least their citizenship of Arras. Another member of the family was Pierre de Fevin, « écuyer, seigneur de Garinet, panetier du Roi Charles VI en 1412, garde-scéel de la bailly de Beausquesne en 1421, prévot de la cité d'Arras en 1424 ». So the latter has a stronger position in the city than his ancestor Jean, and he even belongs to the magistrate. Most probably this Pierre is the same man as the well-known chronicler of King Charles VI, although his name is always given as Fénin instead of Fevin [15]. The composer's father, also named Pierre, had still more intimate relations with Arras in his function of alderman; and his first-born son, Philippe or Phlipot, as the documents call him, « écuyer, bourgeois d'Arras » on October 23, 1488 seems to have succeeded his father as assessor of the « prévoté de Beausquesne » in 1502; he dies in the same year on 18th March [16].

So the family was of noble origin and its several members held official functions. Antoine was the second son, as appears from the pedigree, and he was a priest.

The archives at Arras were examined by the author, as also a large number of cards (collected with great knowledge and care by Guesnon since 1916, i. e., after the fire in the library), but not a single detail was found that could shed any light on Fevin's biography.

Fevin probably left his native city for Paris in order to study for the priesthood. It was the custom in these days to visit the University of Paris which with its numerous colleges attracted the greater part of young students. It is of course, impossible to know whether aspiration to clerical life or to musical vocation drew him form Arras to Paris. It is, however, not very important to decide this question, as in either case he had to go to Paris. If, on the other hand, the qualification given him by Crétin, « maistre Antoyne

[14] *Registres aux Bourgeois d'Arras.*

[15] This interchanging *v* for *n* is already found in the poet Crétin, immediately after Fevin's death. De Puisieux is mistaken when he says that Denis Godefroy was the first to make this error in 1653.

[16] The archivist of Arras pointed out to me that De Puisieuxs date of the year of Philippe's death as May 16th, 1522 is wrong.

Fenin » [17], may be taken strictly, it would follow that he had succeeded in taking the degree of *Magister Artium*. Lastly it may have been possible that both aspirations, priesthood and music, went hand in hand, in which case he must have combined the studies of both faculties. Arras possessed in Paris three colleges where its students were put up during their study at the University. Looking for the place where Fevin may have lived, we can simply rule out the so-called « College of the *Bons Enfants* », as this did not agree with the social position of the Fevins: it was meant for poor students. So there remain only St. Vaest College and that of Dainville. Fevin probably stayed at the latter, as it was directly dependent on the city of Arras, where his father was an alderman. Once at Paris Fevin's entry into the chapel of the King is easily explained. An attempt to obtain better information with the help of the archives of Blois, where in all probability he died in the castle of the French king was met with no success. [18] Neither in the departmental archives nor in the library of Blois has any trace of his person remained.

We come across no date in all Fevin's life that can serve as a safe guide in our historical research, not one date that might give some prominence to his short though not barren life. Even the beginning and the end of it cannot be determined with perfect certainty. As it is easier to state the year of his death than that of his birth, we shall begin with the former. As soon as this has been determined with as much approximate accuracy as possible, we may try by counting backwards to find a plausible date for the year of his birth.

First of all we ought to mention here the opinion held by Ambros in his *Geschichte der Musik*. He does not content himself with odd assertions like many others but always tries to base himself on facts, thus giving proof of historical insight. According to Ambros, Fevin must have died before 1516. He writes as follows: « A. de Fevin wandelte aber schon 1516 nicht mehr unter den Lebenden. Beweis dessen sind die Ambraser Messen. Diese prachtvollen Codices sind nicht später als in dem gedachten Jahre geschrieben. Nun steht aber bei der Messe « O quam glorifica luce » der Beisatz: Anthonius de Fevin pie memorie; und bei der Totenmesse, deren Initialen der Schreiber so grauenhaft mit Totensärgen... ausgestattet hat: Anthonius de Fevin pie memorie; der eine Codex trägt die wichtige Bezeichnung « Karolus Archidux Austrie Dux Burgundie princeps Castelle », etc. Karl der V. geboren am 24. Febr. 1500 zu Gent, trat nach zuruckgelegtem 14. Jahre die Regierung der Niederlände an, folglich durfte er sich Dux Burgundie nennen. Nach dem Tode Philipps am 23. Jan. 1515 fiel ihm die Regierung der gesammten spanischen Reiche als König zu; früher hatte ihm nach seiner Grossmutter

[17] G. Crétin, *Plainte sur le trespas de feu maistre Jehan Braconnier*.
[18] Cfr. Crétin, *Plainte*.

Isabella bloss Castilien und damit der Titel Princeps Castilias gebührt. Folg glich ist jener Codex nicht vor dem 24. Febr. 1514 und nicht nach dem 23. Jan. 1516 geschrieben. Dass die beiden anderen gleichzeitig sind zeigt die übereinstimmende Gleichheit der Austattung ». [19] Thus Ambros has been able to give as an ultimate limit for Fevin's death the year 1516. This supposition, however, can only be accepted, if the words « Anthonius de Fevin pie memorie » have not been added later, i. e. after 1516, and if this « pie memorie » really points to a deceased person and is not used for any other purpose of dedication or homage.

Fortunately there are other documents with the help of which we can determine more securely the year of Fevin's death. From a correspondence between Jean le Veau, secretary of the ambassador Andre de Burgo and Louis Brangier, secretary of Margaretha of Austria, it appears that in January 1512 one of the best singers of the chapel of king Louis XII was dying. His name was Jean Braconnier and also Lourdault. The message is forwarded on January 18th, and at the same time Jean le Veau asks the princess to reserve for him the chapel which the dying Braconnier possessed at Bapaume. On January 29th Margaretha receives an acknowledgement for the granting of the request [20]. From the correspondence we learn that Braconnier died soon after. On the occasion of his death the poet Guillaume Crétin (who wrote the *Déploration sur le trespas d'Okerghem*) writes an elegy on him [21]. In this Fevin is explicitly mentioned and in such terms as to force the conclusion that the deaths of both musicians occurred in the same period and that therefore the loss was doubly grievous to the royal chapel. Crétin introduces himself as distressed by a dream. He sees Atropos and Accident, personified ill-luck, hitting somebody at the Court. Crétin hurries off to the Castle of Blois to learn the name of the stricken person.

Qui, vois-je dire, esse pas ce gentil
Musicien, maistre Anthoyne Fenin ?
Esse-celuy, qui par art tressubtil,
Si bien faisoit et composer sceut-il
Chant d'armonye en l'office divin ?
Non... c'est; et qui ? Lourdault.

In these verses it may be clearly seen that Fevin had died at the time that Crétin wrote his *Plainte sur le trespas de feu maistre Jehan Braconnier dit Lourdault.* It would have been improper on his part to give the impression that Fevin was dead during our hero's lifetime, for even poetic vision

[19] A. Ambros, *Op. cit.*
[20] A. Pirro, *Revue musicale* (H. Prunières), IV année, 1927, p. 252.
[21] J. Peyrot, *La tribune de St. Gervais*, XXI année, 1919, p. 4-7 and 35-38.

gives no right to being offensive. The last stanzas reflect the poet's thought more clearly. For he intends to write some sort of double « Plainte »:

Chantres, plaignez ces deux corps decedez
Qui la science ont tres embellie;
Puisqu'en cest art apres eulx succedez
C'est bien raison que par la plainte procedez
Les regreter, si qu'on ne les oublye.
Leur trespas rende votre bende affoiblye,
L'ung, pour chanter, l'autre, pour composer.
Plorez Fenin et sans vous reposer,
Plorez Lourdault; brief, regretez ces deux
Et a tousiours faictes memoire d'eulx.
Ces deux estoient propres en la chapelle,
Fort estimez et l'ont tres bien servye,
Tant que la mort, qui tout trache et chapelle,
A pris son pic, et accident sa pelle,
Pour leur tollir d'une sorte la vie. etc...

Although the poem is primarily concerned with Braconnier, it also claims to be an elegy on Fevin, mentioning him not incidentally but in the same breath with Braconnier. It is inspired with the same veneration for both. Now that both in the midst of their musical activity at the Court are struck by the same fate, their deaths are felt as one loss; a loss worthy to be commemorated by the same elegy. Fevin's death is so fresh in his memory that the poet asks himself at first whether his dream did not apply to Fevin (v. 30). The interval is so short that Antoine's death forces intself on his mind. The plan of the poem proves that the departure of these two great figures, who belonged to the best of the Chapel, requires to be commemorated as one fact. And so, these two persons died in the same period.

If, therefore, Jean Braconnier died at the beginning of 1512, and probably before the close of January[22], the conclusion must be drawn that Antoine died at about the same time, but at any rate some time before Braconnier. Strictly speaking, it might have been in the same month, but if this were true one should expect an equally alarming message in the correspondence between Jean le Veau and Brangier on the death of Braconnier. It seems more correct to place Fevin's death in the last weeks of 1511. Pirro[23] and Delporte[24] simply agree on the year 1512, without taking into account that Braconnier died at the very opening of the year 1512.

[22] K. Chesney, *Oeuvres de G. Cretin*, Paris 1932, p. XXXVI.

[23] A. Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin de XIV s. au XVI* s. Paris, 1940, p. 235.

[24] J. Delporte, *Op. cit.*

Here we must note how unfounded the opinion of Fétis is[25] when he states that Glareanus had an opportunity of personal acquaintance with Fevin in Paris; this for the simple reason that Glareanus appears never to have been there before 1517. Indeed, Glareanus does not mention this meeting at all, while he does speak of his meeting Mouton whom he came to know in Paris. Had Glareanus met Fevin, he would, no doubt, have mentioned it, considering the respect he pays to Fevin in his *Dodecachordon.*

There yet remains to decide in what year Fevin may have been born. Here we find ourselves faced with another difficulty which can only be solved by suppositions of an approximate date. There exists a great variety of opinions about the year of our musician's birth and the most divergent of these dates stand some twenty years apart. Gerber[26] gives the year 1470, Riemann[27] 1473, Braine[28] 1481, Grove[29] « not much earlier than 1490 », Ambros[30] 1490. If a life of considerable length were in question, a difference of twenty years would be important; but with a life that was « on the short side » the discrepancy is simply fatal.

In fixing a date for his birth we have referred to an expression of Glareanus and used it as a starting-point; speaking of Fevin, Glareanus calls him « eximius ille adolescens ». This in 1547. The expression « adolescens » has, no doubt, some implication, but it remains vague enough. So-called adolescence admits of a margin of 10 or 15 years. We should not, I suppose, take this word in too literal a sense, as has actually been done. It is not within the scope of the dictionary to decide on many other factors involved here. In the year in which Glareanus speaks of Fevin, i. e. in 1547, he is himself 59 years old. And as we saw above, Fevin was dead by that time for 36 (or 35) years. Moreover, he died as we read in the « Plainte » of Crétin, young, before his time, in full activity, unexpectedly. If a man like Glareanus calls him adolescent he has his psychological reasons. A nearly sexagenarian recalling the memory of a contemporary who has been dead for 36 years may be pardoned for styling him adolescent. But Glareanus may not necessarily have used the term in its literal meaning. If so, Ambros was wrong in starting from the term « adolescent » and counting backwards from the year of Fevin's death (according to him 1514 or 1515) and fixing the date of his birth in 1490. A remark of Kade, in a note to Ambros's passage, seems to be of great importance. « Die Reife siener Schreibweise lässt eher auf ein Alter von 34-35

[25] F. Fétis, *Op. cit.*
[26] E. Gerber, *Op. cit.*
[27] H. Riemann, *Op. cit.*
[28] M. Braine, *Op. cit.*
[29] H. Grove, *Dictionary of music and musicians,* Macmillan, London, 1940.
[30] A. Ambros, *Op. cit.*

Jahre schliessen. Er wäre demnach etwa um 1480 geboren »[31]. Fevin's works, especially his Masses, betray indead a ripeness that can hardly be expected of a musician of about 25 years. This is sufficient reason for supposing that Fevin was born no later than 1480. We should try, however, to proceed further in determining the year. And here the study of De Puisieux comes again to our assistance[32]. From this study on the Fevin family it appears that Antoine's father became an alderman of Arras in 1474 and that from his marriage with Perinne Milon two children were born: Philippe and Antoine, « prêtre, chantre du Roi Louis XII, mort à Blois ».

Now we know from this same genealogy that Philippe became a citizen of Arras in 1488. As a rule, sons of citizens had to « récréanter » themselves before their 20th year and before the 31st of October, the day on which the office of alderman was renewed. This would bring the year of Philippe's birth to 1468. We have no reason to suppose that Philippe put off this formality. And if we have to take 1468 as the year of Philippe's birth, it is probable that Antoine was born before 1480. Thus it seems obvious that Antoine as Philippe's only brother was born not very long after him, i. e. between 1470 and 1475. In the latter supposition Glareanus' expression « adolescens » can be maintained. From the preceding we may conclude that Antoine Fevin at his death was aged 35 - 40 years. Further than this one cannot go, at least not with the documentary evidence until now at our disposal.

We now return to Glareanus' expression « Aurelianensis » from which it has been concluded that Fevin was born in Orleans. Delporte has his own explanation for this, which he sets forth in his introduction to Fevin's Missa Ave Maria. « C'est sur cette indication de Glaréan que l'on s'est basé pour faire naître Fevin à Orléans. Mais Fevin n'est ni un nom de lieu, ni un nom de famille orléanais. D'autre part, l'origine artésienne de Antoine de Fevin étant formellement certifiée par les documents, l'Aurelianensis de Glaréan ne peut s'éntendre que comme erratum d'imprimerie (Aurelianensis pour Atrebatensis) »[33]. We must admit that such an information from Glareanus is surprising the more so because he was a contemporary of Fevin and wrote not very long after the musician's death. But Delporte's explanation is not convincing. The difference between the two Latin words Aurelianensis and Atrebatensis, is too great to be explained off as printer's slip. Another interpretation is however, still possible, namely, the following:

Glareanus really wanted to say « Aurelianensis », but not as the place of Fevins's origin, rather as the place of the composer's musical activity. In Orleans Fevin is alleged to have practiced his musical art and to have been

[31] A. Ambros, *Op. cit.*
[32] De Puisieux, *Op. cit.* p. 325.
[33] J. Delporte, *Op. cit.*

known as a singer and musician of the royal chapel. It is possible in this case that Glareanus did not know the place of Fevin's birth or did not want to speak of it, but that only he wished to state that artistically Fevin's name belonged to Orleans.

Until now no objection has been made to this opinion which also wins probability from the fact that Fevin was in the service of the French king. One might, therefore, add to his biography a sojourn at Orleans in the capacity of a professional musician.

Antoine has furthermore enjoyed the honour of being taken for a Spanish composer. Gevaert thinks he is able to determine Fevin's Spanish nationality on the ground that he found some of the composer's music in the archives of the cathedral at Toledo [34]. Eslava too considers Fevin as a Spaniard [35]. Apparently these two did not notice Glareanus' expression « Aurelianensis » or at any rate they were not concerned with the problem of reconciling the Spanish nationality with the epithet from the *Dodecachordon*. To speak plainly, this opinion has never been very troublesome to Fevin's identification. It was refuted later by a study of Rubio Piqueras [36] who examined the contents of the Toledo manuscripts. It appeared that only three of the compositions were of Fevin's hand, and they were found among the works of composers like Josquin, Mouton and Richafort of whose nationality we cannot doubt. Owing to these three compositions and the lack of further information concerning Antoine, the mere presence of his music in a manuscript of Spanish origin was taken as a sufficient proof of his being a Spaniard. So we may be glad that better information was available regarding Josquin, Mouton, and Richafort; otherwise these three too would have been taken for first-class Spanish composers, at least for some time. Piqueras, moreover, has compiled a list of names of all the musicians who had something to do with Toledo; Fevin's name is not found there. And thus is disposed also of Fétis' supposition that Fevin spent the last part of his career in Spain [37]. It was indeed irrelevant to speak of a «last part of his career» in the case of a composer who died so prematurely.

So our first conclusion still holds, namely, that Fevin was not of Spanish origin, but that he was born at Arras, (Atrecht) in France; or, to be more correct historically, in Artois (Burgundy at the time).

To complete this first part we should also mention the fact that our musician's name occurs in all sorts of variations, which however are recognisable enough not to create new problems. Thus we find: Fénin (in Crétin

[34] F. Gevaert, *Bull. de l'academie Royale de Belgique*, t. XIX, n. 1.
[35] M. Eslava, *Lira Sacro Hispana*, Madrid, 1869.
[36] F. Rubio Piqueras, *Musica e Musicos Toledanos*, Toledo, 1923.
[37] F. Fétis, *Op. cit.*

and after him in many others), then Favin or also Fevyn (in a letter of Louis XII on April 7th 1507), next Feum, Feuin (in Fétis), Feuino (in the edition of the *Lamentationes* by Montanus, 1549) Feuinus en Fenim (in the Toledo cathedral manuscript). Would that the scarcity of Fevin's biographical data could be compensated by the large variety of his names.

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SOME ASPECTS AND PROBLEMS OF MUSIQUE MESURÉE À L'ANTIQUE

THE RHYTHM AND NOTATION OF MUSIQUE MESURÉE

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I.

The great majority of *chansons mesurées*[1] are written on a principle of style that has been conveniently termed « syllabic homophony »[2]: that is to say, every syllable of the text is always sung simultaneously by all parts, though any amount of independent figuration is allowed from the beginning of one syllable to the beginning of the next. The variations within this style and the exceptions to it will be discussed in Part II of this paper. For this Part, which deals solely with rhythm, we will suppose that these exceptions do not exist, and that therefore all parts or voices in *musique mesurée* have the same rhythm. The variations in independent figuration may also be disregarded, since, with one exception, they are irrelevant to the problems we are dealing with.

[1] i.e. settings of French verse in classical quantitative metres. The chief poet of *vers mesurés* was J. A. de Baïf (v. Augé-Chiquet, *La Vie, les Idées et l'oeuvre de J. A. de Baïf*, Paris, 1909). For a description of *musique mesurée* v. P. M. Masson's article *L'Humanisme Musical*, in *Mercure Musical*, 1907. For the theoretical background of *musique mesurée* v. D. P. Walker, *Musical humanism in the 16th and early 17th centuries*, in *Music Review*, 1941-42, and F. A. Yates, *French Academies in the 16th century*, London, 1948. Much of the *musique mesurée* of Le Jeune, Du Caurroy and Mauduit, has been reprinted by Henry Expert in the series *Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance Française*, Paris, Senart (Mauduit, *Chansonettes*, 1586; Du Caurroy, *Meslanges* (in part only), 1610; Le Jeune, *Le Printemps*, 1603, and *Pseaumes en Vers mesurez*, 1606).

[2] Throughout I use the terms « homophony » and « polyphony » to mean respectively a predominantly chordal style, and a style in which voices are rhythmically independent. This is not a strictly correct use of the words, but a convenient and usual one.

Nearly all *chansons mesurées* also obey another principle, a rhythmical one, for which there is no convenient term. The « — = a minim ∪ = a crochet rule » is clumsy, but it has the virtue of being self-explanatory. According to this principle *vers mesurées*, or Latin and Greek verse, are set so that a long is always worth exactly two shorts, however irregular the resultant rhythm may be. The principle remains of course the same if —̄ = a semibreve, ∪ = minim, or — = crochet, ∪ = quaver; but the values of minim and crotchet are by far the most common[3]. The *musique mesurée* written on this principle includes all Mauduit's, and nearly all Le Jeune's and du Caurroy's. But in the *chansons mesurées* published earliee than Le Jeune's in the 24*ième Livre d'Airs et Chansons*, 1583[4], this rurl is not followed. They consist of di Lasso's one *chanson mesurée*[5], three of Courvile's and three of Fabrice's[6]. The only rhythmic principle, with regard to the metre of the text, that all these obey is that a long shall always be longer than a short; the proportion may vary to any extent.

The result is a normally regular musical rhythm, not unduly governed by the bar-line, but having an evident connection with the time-signature, as for example in this setting by Fabrice of Baif's « *Vous me tuez* » (Ex. 1)[7].

[3] A change from one set of values to another in the same song occurs quite often in Le Jeune, e. g. *Le Printemps*, ed. Expert, I, 48, 81; II, 75, 98; III, 32, 42. It occurs only twice Mauduit (*Chansonettes*, ed. Expert, p. 74, and *Eau vive source d'amour* in *Airs de differents autheurs, mis en tabulature de luth par Gabriel Bataille, Troisieme Livre*, Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1614). There are other occasional deviations from this principle in Le Jeune.

[4] *Vingtquatrieme Livre d'Airs et Chansons à quatre, & cinq parties De plusieurs excelens autheurs...*, Paris, Le Roy & Ballard, 1583.

[5] *Une puce j'ay dedans l'oreille*, in his *Meslanges*, Paris, Le Roy & Ballard, 1576 (Di Lasso, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, XIV, 114).

[6] Courville, *J'en ayme deux, Arme arme, Lorsque montroy*, and Fabrice, *Une Puce, La belle gloire, Vous me tuez*, all in *Airs mis en musique a quatre parties par Fabrice Marin Caietain, Sur les Poesies de P. de Ronsard, et autres excelans Poetes, Premier Livre*, Paris, Le Roy & Ballard, 1578,

[7] Fabrice Marin Caietain, *op. cit.* The interpretation of coloured notes at this period is doubtful. They were originally equivalent to modern triplets, but from the beginning of the 16th century onwards such groups as Ex. 2, might also be executed as Ex. 3. The latter manner of execution was only a makeshift way of avoiding the difficulties caused by triplets that were divided by a beat; but it soon came to be used for any group of coloured notes occurring in C or ¢. In cases where Ex. 5 could be sung with equal ease as Ex. 6, as in the song quoted, the interpretation must remain doubtful. (v. J. Wolf, *Handbuch der Notations-Kunde*, Leipzig, 1913, I, 394-399), and Riemann, *Musik-lexikon*, IIte Auflage, Berlin, 1929, art. Color).

Di Lasso and Courville do not use coloured notes but only minims, dotted minims and dotted crochets.

The result, on the other hand, of a strict application of the — = minim, ∪ = crochet principle is in most cases an extremely irregular musical rhythm. Metres that fit easily into a regular musical rhythm, hexametres or pure iambics, for example, are very rare in *musique mesurée*. The great majority of *vers mesurée* that were set to music were written, as one might expect, in the « sung metres »; that is to say metres which have a constant number of syllables and a vague or irregular quantitative scheme, which probably does not represent their real rhythm.[8] Mauduit and Le Jeune, however, apparently thought that it did, and therefore set a metrical scheme such as this:

— ∪ ∪ — — ∪ —
∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ —
∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — (See Ex. 4).[9]

If we bar this according to the time signature we have: Ex. 7.

Now such passages of violent and prolonged syncopation occur frequently in ordinary polyphonic works of this (or any) period; but, as M. Masson points out,[10] there is a fundamental difference between the passage just quoted and a similar one in the middle of four or five other rhythmically independant voices. For example, this tenor part from du Caurroy[11] (*vers rimés*) appears, when isolated, almost as strange as the Mauduit one: Ex. 8.

But there is nothing odd about it when put with the other parts, for these balance its syncopations and the resultant general rhythm is quite normal, the only effect of syncopation being at the word «Tout» (Ex. 9)

Whereas, if the other voices were added to the Mauduit tenor part, the rhythm would remain exactly the same, because each voice sings each, syllable simultaneously.

[8] This will probably only be known when more Greek music is discovered if it ever is. The quantitative scheme usually had a large number of indifferent syllables, so the the versification was really more syllabic than quantitative (v. A. Meillet, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes des Mètres Grecs*, Paris, 1923, pp. 28 seq.). Baif, however, keeps exactly to one particular version of the scheme, in order that all the couplets may be set to the same music.

[9] Mauduit, *Chansonettes*, ed. Expert, p. 36.

[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 702, 713.

[11] Du Caurroy, *Meslanges*, ed. cit., p. 12.

II.

In order to explain the curious rhythm of *musique mesurée* of the — = minim, ⏑ = crochet kind, and to interpret its curious notation, it is necessary to discover, if possible, what theories lay behind it. The central question is whether Baif and his musicians believed that classical metres had an *ictus* or *plausus*, in the sense of a regular intensive beat. If they did, then the notation of the — = minim, ⏑ = crochet *chansons mesurées* should be interpreted as representing the same kind of regular rhythm as that of the Fabrice-Courvile *musique mesurée*; and the only remaining problem concerns the manner of the interpretation. In fact, it seems probable, but not certain, that they did not. They are supported in this opinion by many modern scholars; but for our purpose it does not matter whether they were right or wrong. What is curious is that many of their contemporaries held the opposite view and that those who agreed with them seem to have done so from sheer ignorance. It is therefore desirable to give evidence for and against their believing in the *ictus*.

The classical authorities for the existence of an intensive beat in verse leave no doubt that it was a regular one, corresponding to a rhythmical movement of the foot or head, either in the ratio of 1:1 for dactyls and spondees etc., or 2:1 for trochees and iambics, or possibly 3:2 for paeonic feet. Therefore, if Baif and his musicians believed that the words *ictus*, *plausus*, or *arsis* and *thesis*, were to be interpreted as meaning an intensive beat, they must have believed that this beat occurred at regular intervals. If they did hold these beliefs, then it is, to say the least, odd that they should use a musical notation that gives no indication of where strong beats are to be placed or in which of several possible ways the rhythm is to be reduced to regularity. For example, this iambic line:

Avecque tourmans tant benins

is set by Mauduit[12] as in Ex. 10.

More conclusive is the fact that they had no idea of filling up catalectic or asynartetic metres with pauses. For example, this catalectic iambic dimeter, and those which follow it:

Que null' estoile sur nous

are set by Mauduit and Le Jeune[13] without any rests at all.

It is true that in the few *chansons mesurées* of Fabrice and Courvile there appear to be attempts to regularize asymmetrical metres. In the first

[12] *Chansonettes*, ed. Expert, p. 3.

[13] *Chansonettes*, p. 23; *Le Printemps*, ed. cit., III, 36.

two lines of the example quoted above[14] every foot is of equal length and the *ictus* always comes on a strong beat; but the fourth line is set as in Ex. 11; the feet are not of equal length and the ictus does not always fall on a strong beat, or even on a beat at all. There was certainly no classical evidence from which it could be deduced that this was the normal rhythm of an iambic dimeter. The use, therefore, by Fabrice and Courvile of time values other than minim and crochet is for modern, or 16th century, musical reasons; merely to produce an attractive rhythm that fits easily into a duple beat.

From the evidence, then, of the musical notation it appears at least unlikely that they believed in the existence of a regular intensive *ictus*. There is, however, some evidence which points in the opposite direction.

Baif occasionally refers to *vers* or *musique mesurée* being « batus »:

Et des chants non ouis de mesure sonions,
Batus à la façon & Gregeoise & Latine[15]:
(*talking of Greek drama*)
Car leurs vers avoyent la mesure,
Qui d'une plaisants bature
Frappoit l'oreille des oians[16].
(*and later in the same poem*)
L'Iambe dru je scay rebatre,
Redoublant le pas qu'il faut batre
En tems & lieu, sans forvoyer:
L'Anapeste je scay conduire,
Egaler la dermarche: & duire
Le chore qu'il faut convoyer.
Je sçay d'une assiete acordee,
Balansant le pesant Spondee,
Le legier Dactile ranger.

Such remarks are too vague to prove anything conclusively; but from the last passage quoted it certainly seems as if Baif knew that dactyls and spondees had an equal beat and that iambics had not. « Redoublant le pas » might indicate that he had read St. Augustine's *De Musica* and learnt that iambic trimeters could be beaten with two feet to a *plausus*.[17]

[14] V. supra, *Vous me tuez*.

[15] Baif, *Oeuvres en Rime*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, II, 346.

[16] *Ibid*, III, 2, 3.

[17] St. Augustin, *De Musica* (Migne, *Patrologia*, T. 32, 1081 seq.), V, XI. The passage actually refers to the spondees in trochaic trimeters, but he has just mentioned the same difficulty in iambics: « Quae corruptio ut tolerabilis fieret, non singulos pedes in duas partes, quarum una levationis, altera positionis est, plaudendo diviserunt; sed unum pedem levantes, alterum ponentes... ».

It is indeed the mentions in such writers as St. Augustin and Quintilian[18] of regular *ictus* and of pauses in catalectic and asymmetrical metres that make it apparently unlikely that Baif should have entirely neglected this side of classical versification. Moreover an earlier writer on music, Gafori, knew of the Greek rhythmical signs and of the dot used to indicate the arsis and thesis[19]. A very famous musician and scholar, Salinas, who was a contemporary of Baif, though his book was published in 1577, after *vers* and *musique mesurés* had begun, had read St. Augustin's *De Musica* thoroughly and reproduced most of it.[20] Mersenne, who was so closely connected with Baif's movement, mentions the use of rests and pauses in classical metres, though it is true that he seems to consider these rather as a useful device for « les compositeurs d'airs » than as significant of the rhythm of these metres.[21]

On the other hand, many distinguished and learned writers of the same period seem not only never to have heard of the rhythmical signs discovered by Gafori, but also not even to have read St. Augustine and other Latin writers who mention pauses of different length and the ways in which various feet were beaten. There is no word of these matters in Tyard,[22] Zarlino,[23] Galilei,[24] Artusi,[25] or even in Mersenne's *Quaestiones in Genesim.*[26] This in itself seems inexplicable, but it does make it appear less odd that Baif and his musicians, in spite of the classical evidence available, should hold the belief that Greek and Latin verse had no intensive beat and no regular rhythm. Even as late as the 19th century writers on this subject are capable of completely overlooking this evidence.[27]

Cf. Salinas, *De Musica libri septem*, Salamanticae, 1577, VI, v, discussing why iambic trimeters are divided into dipodies: « Terentianus autem illam affert causam, id namque factum esse dicit propter spondaeos, qui locis imparibus collocantur, ne si plauderentur singuli, plausus inaequaliter procederet ».

[18] V. e. g. Augustin, *Op. cit.*, II, IX, and III, VIII, and Quintilian, *Institutionis Oratoriae Libri XII*, IX.4.51, and I.5.28 (evidence of intensive *ictus*).

[19] V. Walker, *Op. cit.*, II, 299.

[20] Salinas, *Op. cit., Libri V & VI* are entirely devoted to rhythm in classical verse. Besides St. Augustine he uses Terentianus Maurus, Martianus Capella, Marius Victorinus and several more grammarians.

[21] Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636, V de la comp., XXXIII.

[22] Pontus de Tyard, *Solitaire Second ou Prose de la Musique*, Lyon, 1555.

[23] Zarlino, *Istutioni harmoniche*, Venezia, 1558.

[24] Vincentio Galilei, *Dialogo della Musica antica e moderna*, Firenze, 1581.

[25] *L'Artusi, overo delle imperfettioni della moderna Musica*, Venezia, 1600.

[26] Mersenne, *Quaestiones Celeberrimae in Genesim*, Paris, 1623 (Qu. 57). Cf. Walker, *Op. cit.*, II, 296 seq.

[27] Charles Burney, for example (*A General History of Music*, London 1775-89, I, 81), very characteristically attributes the rhythm in Ex. 12 to the first two lines of the *Alcestis*.

In the case of the 16th century humanists this neglect of the *ictus*, the nature of catalexis and similar rhythmical problems, was undoubtedly encouraged by the intolerable confusion that had grown up round the terms *elevatio* and *positio*, or *arsis* and *thesis*. By the time of the Latin grammarians the terms had come to refer to pitch as well as to rhythm and their meanings were exactly reversed: *elevatio* became the raising of the pitch of the voice (instead of that of the foot, as originally) and the strong beat, *positio* the lowering of pitch and the weak beat.[28] Here again, one contemporary of Baif's at least, Salinas, was aware of the confusion and went as far in clearing it up as anyone ever has since.[29] But the great majority of 16th century scholars who could have read Salinas's book were hopelessly muddled by these terms being used in two opposite senses; as late a writer as Mersenne is unable to sort them out.[30] That Baif was similarly led astray is indicated by these lines:

Je scay d'une assiete acordee
Balansant le pesant spondee,
Le legier Dactile ranger.
Je conoy la longue & la breve:
Si l'accent baisse ou se releve.
Le François ne m'est etranger.

(*and later in the same poem, with reference to his orthography*)

Ainsi lon note le vray son,
Des syllabes & des diftongues
Des breves d'avecque les longues,
Et du haut et du grave ton.[31]

In this context the assertion that French has a musical accent makes it probable that he identified the « haut & le grave ton » with the *arsis* and

Ἥκω νεκρων κευθμωνα και σκοτου πυλας
Λιπων ἵν' Ἀδης χωρις ὠκισται θεων,

and then writes: « It is... difficult... to conceive how such music could be rigourously executed without throwing both the hearers and performers into convulsions ». This is of course the way in which Mauduit or Le Jeune would have set these lines.

[28] V. Rossbach & Westphal, *Griechische Rhythmik*, Leipsig, 1885, pp. 102-8.

[29] Salinas, *Op. cit.*, V, VI, explains that Marius Victorinus and Terentianus Maurus have confused the *arsis* and *thesis* of pitch with that of rhythm, and later (V, VII seq.) himself uses the terms the right way round.

[30] Mersenne, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, 57, XVI. He knows that there are two meanings, musical and rhythmical, but implies that both are applicable to metrical feet; and he is quite unaware of the confusions of the grammarians.

[31] Baif, *ed. cit.*, III, 5.

thesis. Having either failed to notice that these terms had two meanings, or having chosen to believe Marius Victorinus and Hephaestion rather than St. Augustine and Quintilian, he would inevitably have no idea of any regular rhythm in classical verse or of any intensive beat. He would imagine, as anyone might from reading Hephaestion, whom Mersenne especially recommends to writers of *ver mesurés*,[32] that the terms catalectic, brachycatalectic and so forth, were merely used to classify metres that happened to be so or so much shorter than usual.[33]

III.

The conjectures, then, that we can make about the humanist theory behind the — = minim, ∪ = crochet *chansons mesurées* are inconclusive, but point towards a disbelief in an intensive beat or a regular rhythm. Bearing this in mind, let us try to discover by other means exactly what rhythm this notation represented and how such *musique mesurée* was performed. There are two main classes of answer to these questions.

First: the rhythm was smoothed out by dividing the metre into bars and making the bars isochronous, so that sapphics, for example, would have the rhythm in Ex. 13.[34] In this case the manner of execution would have been by beating a duple rhythm and singing as triplets such groups as in Ex. 14. In the case of iambic or trochaic metres, one would beat a triple rhythm and sing Ex. 15 as Ex. 16.

Secondly, the rhythm was exactly what was written and the musical accent was quite free, falling at irregular intervals. If this were so, the beat would be in crotchets for minim and crotchet songs, and in minims for

[32] Mersenne, *Qu. in Gen.*, 57, VII.

[33] Hephaestion, Ἐγχειριδιον περι μετρων ποιηματων, ed. Barham, Cambridge, 1843, Section: περι ἀποθεσεως μετρων. He merely says that the last syllable of a catalectic metre is instead of a whole foot or dipody, e. g. of any ordinary catalectic iambic: « τελευταια συλλαβη ἀντι ὁλου ποδος ἰαμβικου κειται », which is ambiguous.

It is not quite certain that later writers of *vers mesurés* had the same opinions on catalexis, for above Odet de la Noue's *vers mesurés* in front of the *Printemps* (Claude le Jeune, 1603) is a metrical scheme in which two little dots indicate the two pauses of one *tempus* at the end of dactylic and anapaestic cataletic hexameters. On the other hand du Caurroy, in setting Rapin's *vers mesurés*, makes no attempt to put in pauses at the right places or in any way to regularize the metres.

[34] Vincent d'Indy interpreted the notation of *musique mesurée* in this way (v. Masson, *Op. cit.*, p. 708), and Masson also approves of this interpretation for « l'exécution actuelle ».

semibreve and minim ones. Or they could be beaten irregularly in crotchets and minims just as these happened to occur; not only the accents, but probably the time-values also would be free and irregular. Finally, they might be beaten in the normal way according to the time signature, usually C or ¢.

Judging from humanist theory, there is, as we have seen, perhaps some reason to incline towards the second hypothesis. In favour of the first, however, is the following fact. There is a strong natural tendency to make all rhythms isochronous. Therefore the free, irregular accents, that would occur if our second interpretation of this notation were correct, would be difficult to execute and would be liable in practice, whatever the intentions of the composers, to be sung at regular intervals. In some particular cases this tendency would be very strong indeed; for example, in a melodic and rhythmic sequence such as[35] Ex. 17 one's natural instinct is to sing all but the last two notes of each phrase in triple time. However, let the reader do this, and then sing it again, beating in crotchets and giving each note its exact value; the accents will come of their own accord on the minims. There is little doubt that aesthetically the latter mode of execution is far more satisfactory; the rhythm becomes twice as sharp and lively. As Laloy says: « ...ces rhythmes sont charmants, et si l'on veut en détruire la grâce, il suffit de les régulariser selon les principes de la métrique moderne, en rétablissant partout nos silences, nos longues alongées: tout alors se glace et se raidit; la gaie animation d'une chanson galante, la mélancolie d'un air tendre, font place, tantôt à l'uniforme gravité d'un choral protestant, tantôt à l'insipide entrain d'une valse moderne ».[36]

This is of course no proof of how these songs were actually sung; but it is worth remembering that, from purely aesthetic considerations, there is no reason why their rhythms should be levelled out. Moreover this levelling out would often be a difficult and complicated business. For example, in many *chansons mesurées* several lines begin with an iambic or an anapaest, so that to make any sense of the rhythm they must start with an up-beat.[37] In Ex. 18[38] it would obviously be absurd to start off with triplets (Ex. 19).

[35] Mauduit, *Chansonettes*, ed. cit, p. 21.

[36] Laloy, *Aristoxène de Tarente et la Musique de l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1904, p. 337. He mentions *musique mesurée* when discussing the efforts of 19th century scholars to regularize the metres of Latin and Greek verse.

[37] Anacrusis as a metrical term was first used by Hermann; but Salinas in 1577 knew that some feet began on an up-beat (*Op. cit.*, V, VII). In any case from a musical point of view this must be so.

[38] Mauduit, *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

Therefore the first crotchet of every line must be an up-beat, so that the triplets become as in Ex. 20. To accomplish this one must either insert a minim rest at the beginning of each line, or make all the minims at * into dotted minims, and sing the whole tune in 3-4 time, beginning on the up-beat.

The composers of *musique mesurée* cannot have hoped that performers would guess how to make these complicated alterations. It might otherwise have been reasonable to suppose that they took it for granted that singers would regularize these odd rhythms. But this would only be conceivable if there were some simple rule that could be universally applied. Since there is no such rule and since different ways of levelling the rhythm have to be used for almost every separate song, there is little doubt that *musique mesurée* was not meant to be performed with regularized rhythms, though perhaps it may often have been so in practice.

IV.

We may, then, assume that our second hypothesis is right and that the time-values of this kind of notation should be executed, and were meant be executed, exactly as they are written. The only question that remains to be settled is how these — = minim, ∪ = crochet songs were beaten, if at all; the answer to this question would indicate how free or how exact the rhythm of *musique mesurée* was in practice.

The most obvious answer is that they were executed to the beat indicated by the time signature.[39] This answer can, however, be proved wrong. In the first place it supposes that the beat was musically meaningless and was simply a device, like a metronome, for keeping the singers in time. The great majority of *chansons mesurées* would make utter nonsense if the singers made the beat indicated by the time signature at all apparent. Of

[39] This is apparently M. Masson's view, as he insists that a modern score as *musique mesurée* should be barred according to the time-signature (*Op. cit.*, op. 707-709), and criticizes Expert for not doing so. The only serious evidence he brings forward is this frequently quoted statement of Mersenne (*Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636): « L'on met le nombre 3... lorsqu'on chante en mesure ternaire, le C... lorsqu'elle est binaire... ou bien l'ou n'y met nul signe, afin que le mesure soit libre ». But when *musique mesurée* was being composed there was no precedent in the way of notation, whereas Mersenne was writing in 1636, after thousands of irregularly rhythmed *airs de cour* had been published. The earliest examples of French music, other than plainsong, without a time-signature are in the Bataille series (v. supra note 3); five out of six of the *chansons mesurées* in this series have no time signature.

Mauduit's 23 *chansonettes* there is only one which has a duple rhythm throughout,[40] but for all of them the time signature is C or ¢. This in itself is not a strong objection. Although the widespread view that the time signature was musically meaningless in 16th century music is probably false,[41] it is true that singers must have been well accustomed to accenting their own particular part quite independently of the beat. It was often only the general rhythm of all parts as a whole that was conditioned by the measure. Therefore singers of this period would have found no great difficulty in singing, for example, an iambic *chanson mesurée* to a duple beat, such as Le Jeune's *A l'aide, à l'aide helas,*[42] which begins with 14 iambics in succession and has the time signature C. But it is inconceivable that they should have been silly enough to do so when they could have used a triple beat with so much greater ease.

A more serious objection is that many of these irregular *chansons mesurées* cannot be barred[43] without the last note being divided by a beat or coming on an up-beat. This is condemned by all 16th century writers on music. It is true that Zarlino, in discussing what *battuta* should be used for various metrical feet, says that all feet, including iambics and trochees, « si possono ancor ridurre sotto la Battuta equale »,[44] that is C or ¢ ; but he ends up with the warning that it is imperative « che ogni compositione incominci & finisca ancora nella Positione della mano; cioè nel principio della Battuta ».[45]

The most conclusive proof that this kind of irregularly rhythmed — = minim, ∪ = crochet *chanson mesurée* was not executed to the duple beat indicated by the time-signature is the way in which long pauses for isolated voices are written. The normal way of writing these in the 16th century was much the same as today; the number of bars' silence was written as shortly as possible, so that 19 bars rest in C would be as in Ex. 21. If the voice

[40] Mauduit, *ed. cit.*, p. 39.

[41] For a recent controversy on this question see: Fellerer (K. G.), *Die Deklamationsrhythmik in der vokalen Polyphonie des 16ten Jdts,* Düsseldorf, 1928, and article in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft,* 1928, pp. 314-18; Schering (A.) article in *Z. für Mus.*, 1928, pp. 212-221; Lowinsky (E.), article in *Acta Musicologica,* VII, II, 62-7.

[42] Le Jeune, *Printemps,* ed. cit., II, 113.

[43] The term « bar » is not used in this article in a literal sense. But for the very rare scores, and lute tablatures, no 16th century music was barred. It is used to signify the rhythmical divisions indicated by the time-signature, which were later shown by bar-lines.

[44] Zarlino, *Istitutioni,* III, XLIX.

[45] For examples of *chansons mesurées* which do not finish « nel principio della battuta » v. Ex. 4 and infra, notes 71-73.

did not finish exactly at the end of a bar or did not begin again exactly at the beginning of one, then the rests necessary to fill up these two bars were written separately (Ex. 22). Now, in most *chansons mesurées* either no rests are put in at all, but, instead, the text that the other voices are singing, as in most of Le Jeune's and some of Mauduit's;[46] or the text is given and in addition the rests, written as in Ex. 23, according to the rhythm of the voices not silent, as in a few of Mauduit's and many of du Caurroy's.[47] But du Caurroy does not always use this way of indicating *tacits* in individual voices. He writes ordinary rests and gives no text in all his *musique mesurée* that is not homophonic.[48] This would of course have to be beaten in the ordinary way, since every part does not have the same rhythm. It follows, therefore, that, when du Caurroy does not use the normal notation for *tacits*, the songs were not meant to be beaten in the usual way according to the time-signature.

This in also true of Le Jeune. In the settings of ordinary *vers rimés* in the *Printemps*[49] ordinary rests are used; but side by side with these are *chansons mesurées* in which a *tacit* always has full text and no rests at all. The few exceptions to this in Le Jeune are the songs which, owing to the metre or the use of coloured notes, fit easily into the duple rhythm indicated by the time signature.[50] The 1594 version of one of these, *O rose reyne des fleurs*,[51] is interesting, because in the very heavily figured sections ordinary rests are used, whereas in the plain homophonic passages the *tacits*

[46] For Mauduit V. e. g. *Juge le droêt* (in Mersenne, *Qu. in Gen.*, repr. Expert, *Extraits des Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance Française*, Paris, Senart). For Le Jeune, see any of the songs in the *Printemps*. The Expert edition prints rests and no text, but in the original there is always full text and no rests, even when the *tacits* are very short, as in *La Bel'Aronde* (*Printemps*, ed. cit., I, 28). This also applies, with two exceptions (v. infra note 50), to Le Jeune's *Pseaumes en Vers Mesurez*, but his *Airs* of 1594 contain more exceptions (v. *ibid.*).

[47] For Mauduit v. e. g. *An son tample* (in Mersenne, *Qu. in Gen.*, repr. Expert, *Extraits des M. M. de la R. Fr.*). For du Caurroy, see any of the *chansons mesurées* reprinted in the Expert edition of the *Meslanges*.

[48] V. Part II.

[49] Although Expert alters the rests in his transcriptions he gives two facsimiles at the beginning of his edition of the *Printemps* in which these two ways of writing *tacits* can be seen.

[50] See Le Jeune, *Pseaumes en Vers Mesurez*, ed. Expert, II, 39. In the original the first *tacit* of the bass and tenor is written with full text and no rests, but all the subsequent ones have no text and ordinary rests; coloured notes are used so that it fits into duple time. See also ibid., II 51; in the original all the *tacits* have ordinary rests and no text; it is in hexameters.

[51] Le Jeune, *Airs*, 1594, f° 16, and *Printemps*, ed. Expert, I, 86, *Airs*, 1608, (ed. announced in *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. III, 191), N° 43.

are as in du Caurroy (Ex. 24);[52] obviously a regular beat was necessary for the former but not for the latter.[53]

Four other *Chansons mesurées* in the *Airs* of 1594 also contain tacits indicated by ordinary rests: *Francine rosine*, *La belle Aronde*, *Bien que soit*, *Muze honorons*. The first two appear in the *Printemps*[54] and in the *Airs*[55] of 1608 with no rests and full text in the tacits. The last two contain many coloured notes, so that they fit easily with the time-signature; in the 1608 version[56] of the same songs no coloured notes are used and again the tacits have no rests but full text.

These curious ways of indicating *tacits* must have been used because there was no ordinary beat by which the singers could count. This implies one of two things. First: there was no beat at all, or the beat was in minims and crotchets, which comes to the same thing because it could not be kept regular. Secondly: it was in some small time value, not divided into measures — in crotchets for minim and crochet songs, minims for semibreve and minim ones, and so forth. In the latter case also, the singer would find it extremely difficult to count many beats' rest without some other indication than merely Ex. 25. For he would first have to calculate how many crotchets were represented by these signs and then, instead of counting ten long bars, count forty quick beats. Thus both these ways of beating, or not beating, time would account for the unusual ways of indicating *tacits*.

In favour of the first there are several indications. The du Caurroy way of writing rests so that they correspond exactly to the rhythm of the other voices (Ex. 26, if the other parts were singing sapphics) certainly points to a free beat in minims and crotchets, or to none at all, since it was necessary also to give the text. Moreover the supposition that there was no regular beat of any sort is supported by remarks of Glarean and Mersenne. The former may quite possibly have influenced Baif and his

[52] The same is true of another of the *Airs* of 1594: *Je ne scay qui te meut*.

[53] Le Jeune's method of indicating *tacits* also produces another proof that *musique mesurée* was not beaten ordinarily. After long *tacits* the clef and key signature, but not the time signature are repeated. But if a voice begins with a *tacit*, as often happens, only the text is given until its entry, and then only the clef and key signature. There are a few exceptions to this, but it remains true that the great majority of voices that begin with a *tacit* have no time signature at all. This cannot of course be seen from the Expert editions.

[54] Ed. cit., I, 86; I, 78.

[55] Nos 38, 2.

[56] Nos 112, 42.

composers [57] or at least had probably been read by them, [58] while the latter has every right to be considered their representative.[59]

Glarean, in introducing his settings of Horace, says:

« Propemodum enim hic nulla est Mensurae (Tactum vocant) observantia, quippe prisci illi, ut affectus exprimerent, magis Harmonias verbis aptabant, quam aut Mensurae aut numeris verba, quamquam omni Carmini quaedam est Mensura, sed non prorsus ut exigunt Musici ». [60]

and in fact many of them have a completely irregular rhythm and no time signature. [61].

Mersenne, in quoting Mauduit's setting of Baif's *Est Deus pastor mihi*, [62] a version of the 23rd psalm in sapphics, puts a marginal note: « hic non servatur perpetua Graecorum arsis, thesis ». Although Mersenne is inclined to be confused about the melodic and rhythmic meanings of these terms, [63] he must here by *arsis* and *thesis* mean a regular beat, since he himself admits that no modern musicians observed the *arsis* and *thesis* of pitch.

There are also indications in favour of beating time in the second manner: in the smallest rhythmic unit, crotchets for minim and crotchet *musique mesurée*, minim for semibreve and minim, and so forth. The most important is that this kind of beat was used for the later « irregular » *airs*

[57] Glarean, *Dodekachordon*, Basileae, 1547. He prints some of the German settings of Latin verse; these, with their severe homophony and — = semibreve, ∪ = minim rhythm, may well have influenced *musique mesurée*.

[58] He deals more completely and more competently with the subject of ancient music than any other writer prior to Zarlino. The esteem in which Glarean was held can be judged from the fact that Salinas in his *De Musica*, 1577, copied long passages from the *Dodekachordon*, 1544, often word for word and always without acknowledgement (e. g. Glarean, III, 195, *Scio autem dubitari* to *scriptis prodere* ? in Salinas, V, XXV; Glarean, II, XXXVIII, *rei inquam in dubium versae* to end of chapter, in Salinas, VI, I).

[59] He was a great admirer and close friend of Mauduit (v. *Qu. in. Gen.*, Qu. 57, and *Harmonie Universelle*, VII des Instr., XXXI).

[60] Glarean, *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

[61] *Ibid.* On German *musique mesurée* in general see: R. Von Liliencron, *Die Horazischen Metren in deutschen Kompositionen des 16ten Jdts.*, in *Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1887, and *Die Chorgesänge des Lateinisch-deutschen Schuldramas des 16ten Jdts.*, in *V. f. Mw.*, 1890; B. Widmann, *Die Kompositionen der Psalmen von Statius Olthof*, in *V. f. Mw.*, 1889; H. J. Moser, *Paul Hofhaimer*, Stuttgart, 1929.

[62] Mersenne, *Qu. in Gen.*, repr. Expert, *Extraits des M. M. de la R. Fr.* Mersenne also describes (*Qu. in Gen.*, 57, XVI) and comments on a system of notation invented by Charles Navières, which may be relevant to this question. I have not succeeded in understanding completely either Navières's symbols or Mersenne's comments on them.

[63] Cf. supra note 30.

de cours, which had a rhythm very similar to that of *musique mesurée* and which sometimes appear in collections also containing *chansons mesurées*.[64] This is proved by the following instruction at the beginning of Filmer's *French Court Aires*:[65]

« To the Musicall User of this Booke. Note that the Usuall English mesure of Songs (which is commonly by Semibriefs or minoms) cannot be applyed to diverse of the French Aires. Where therefore you shall find an odde Crotchet in the Aires, measure the whole Aire by crotchets; and where an odde Minom, by Minoms ».

Another reason for supposing a beat of this kind is that it would make the execution of the figuration much easier. When this is ornate and involves several different time values, it would often be difficult to sing accurately with a free beat, or with no beat at all (Ex. 27).[66]

In conclusion, we may say that both methods of beating are about equally likely; possibly both were used. Since with the free beat in minims and crotchets there would be a danger of the rhythmic irregularities being instinctively levelled out, it would be wiser for present day performance to use the crotchet beat, at least until the singers have become accustomed to these curious rhythms.

V.

The conclusions reached in the two preceding sections probably apply to all Mauduit's *chansons mesurées*, to all du Caurray's homophonic ones, and the great majority of Le Jeune's. But it must be admitted that some at least of these *chansons mesurées* were probably beaten, and in consequence perhaps accented, according to their time signature, C or ¢. The facts which point to this are: the general pauses or rests[67]; the occasional changes to triple time in Le Jeune.

These rests were not put in for metrical reasons, that is, to fill up catalectic

[64] e. g. Gabriel Bataille, *Airs de differents Autheurs, mis en tablature de luth*, Pierre Ballard, Livres I to VIII, 1608-1618, contain six *chansons mesurées* (Livre I, *Lorsque Léandre*; III, *Eau-vive*; IV, *Si le Toutpuissant*; V, *Chanvallon les Roys*, and *Soit que l'oeil*; VI, *Vous qui les parvis*). *Chansons tant rimees que mesurées. A trois & quatre parties*, Pierre Ballard, 1606, contain nine (fos. 13, 14, 15, 15vo, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35).

[65] Ed. Filmer, *French Court Aires, with their ditties Englished, of fourre and five Parts. Together with that of the Lute.*, London, 1629.

[66] Le Jeune, *Pseaumes en Vers Mesurés*, ed. Expert, I, 32.

[67] Henceforth « rest » is used to mean a general pause, not a *tacit*.

or asynartetic metres. It occasionally happens that they do so,[68] but only by sheer chance, since they occur just as often in acatalectic metres[69] and are just as often absent in catalectic ones.[70] There can have been only two possible reasons for putting them in: either to make the metre fit with the time signature; or simply as punctuation, in order to mark the end of a line, or to give the singers time to breathe. Obviously they cannot have been used for the former purpose, if the song when barred still has a minim or a crotchet over at the end. On the other hand, if, as a result of the rests, the song ends on a down beat, then, although the barring may be rhythmically nonsensical, this might indicate that the rests were put in so that the song might be beaten according to the time signature.

In Mauduit's *Chansonettes* and *Psaumes* there appears to be no attempt to end on a down beat,[71] nor in du Caurroy's *musique mesurée*.[72]. Le Jeune uses rests more lavishly and chaotically than du Caurroy and Mauduit; they appear at the end, the beginning and even the middle of lines. But there does seem possibly to exist a real, though not very successful, effort to ensure that by means of these rests a song shall end on a down beat, or at least not halfway through a beat.[73] It is, then, just possible but unlikely that in the case of Le Jeune alone the *chansons mesurées* containing rests were meant to be beaten according to the time signature in the or-

[68] e. g. the first two lines of Mauduit's *An son tanple sacré* (in Mersenne, *Qu. in Gen.*, repr. Expert, *Extraits des M. M. de la R. Fr.*).

[69] e. g. the hexameters of du Caurroy's *France tu dois* (*Meslanges*, not reprinted in the Expert edition).

[70] V. supra note 13.

[71] In the *Chansonettes* there are only two general rests (ed. Expert, pp. 34, 68), and these enable one to finish on an up-beat instead of half way through one. This is certainly not indication that Mauduit was trying to make his songs fit with their time signature, since, out of the 23 *Chansonettes*, none ends on a down beat, 14 end half-way through a beat (*ibid.*, pp. 1, 6, 10, 23, 36, 53, 60, 63, 68, 71, 74, 82, 85), and the rest on an up-beat. Of the psalms printed in Mersenne, *Qu. in Gen.*, only four contain rests; of these one ends half-way through a beat, one on an up-beat, and two on a down beat.

[72] Du Caurroy almost invariably uses rests at the end of each line; yet of the 15 homophonic *chansons mesurées* in the *Meslanges* five end half-way through a beat and three on an up-beat. Moreover nearly all those that end correctly on a down beat are in dactylic or anapaestic metres and therefore fit naturally into a duple rhythm.

[73] In the *Printemps* and the *Pseaumes en Vers Mesurez* the proportion of endings which come half-way through a beat to those which do not is only 17 to 93; which is low compared with Mauduit and du Caurroy, but high to be due to carelessness or misprints.

dinary manner;[74] in all other cases the rests are merely for punctuation or breathing.

The coloured notes in Le Jeune's *musique mesurée* present more difficult problems. At first sight it would seem that most of the songs containing them should be beaten and even accented according to the time signature. Some of these changes to triple time, however, are utterly aimless, and their occurrence seems to be governed by no consistent or intelligible principle. In one of the psalms,[75] for example, they are evidently used to level out the rhythm and enable the work to be beaten in duple time; which is confirmed by the way in which the *tacits* are written.[76] But the method used is such that, if the music were executed exactly as it is written, there would be subtle, but meaningless, differences of rhythm between lines of the same metre (Ex. 28[77] as compared with Ex. 29 four lines later).
In another psalm the use of a triplet does not even have the advantage of making the work finish on the right beat.[78]

The majority of *chansons mesurée* containing coloured notes[79] do, however, finish on a down-beat; this may therefore have been one of the purposes of using them. Also, they usually occur, as one would expect, in long passages of pure iambic or trochaic metre; which is another obvious reason for using them. But for both purposes they are employed in an astonishingly inconsistent and aimless manner. One typical example will be enough to prove this. The *Rechant à* 5[80] (Ex. 30) is followed immediately by the *Reprize à* 5 (Ex. 31).

These examples all come from works published posthumously, the *Printemps* and the *Pseaumes en Vers Mesurez*. It is therefore possible that the more aimless of these changes to triple time are the hasty work of some

[74] Many of these, however, appear in the *Airs* of 1608 without rests, e. g. *Airs*, 1608, ed. cit., N^os^ 90, 14, 30, 38.

[75] Le Jeune, *Pseaumes en Vers Mesurez*, ed. Expert, II, 39.

[76] V. supra note 50.

[77] Le Jeune, *Ibid.* I have inserted bar-lines and written the triplets in the original notation.

[78] Le Jeune, *Pseaumes*, ed. cit., II, 21. The triplet itself comes halfway through a beat.

[79] E. g. Le Jeune, *Printemps*, ed. cit., I, 45, II, 71, 108; *Pseaumes en V. M.*, ed. cit., II, I, 10. Throughout these articles I have as far as possible confined myself to examples available in modern reprints. Le Jeune's *Airs* of 1608 are therefore seldom cited, but they do not invalidate any of the general conclusions reached here.

[80] Le Jeune, *Printemps*, ed. cit., II, 73. Expert puts a crotchet rest in front of the *Reprize* which is not in the original. The barring is of course mine.

reviser of Le Jeune's manuscripts, a reviser who was trying ineffectually to make the songs fit their time signatures. [81].

The coloured notes in the *Airs* of 1594 cannot of course be explained in this way, since Le Jeune was still alive; nor indeed is the use of them so inconsistent and pointless. Most of the nine songs in which they appear [82] are of predominantly triple rhythm (iambic or trochaic metres); by means of these triplets they are made to fit easily into the measure indicated, C or ¢ (Ex. 32) [83].

In others the rhythm is mostly duple (dactyls etc.) and the triplets are used for an isolated succession of trochees or iambics, as, for example, in *Vous que l'amour n'a touché*. [84] These nine songs, therefore, should perhaps be sung with an ordinary duple beat. [85] Even this conclusion, however, seems very doubtful, when one compares the passage just cited with its 1608 version [86] (Ex. 33).

It is not surprising that Le Jeune should have experimented with these two ways of setting *vers mesurés*, one according to the — = minim, ∪ = crotchet rule, the other with the rhythm levelled out by triplets. The fact that he did occasionally use coloured notes confirms the assertions made in sections III and IV: that the rhythm of all *chansons mesurées* in which these do not occur should not be levelled out, and that they should not be beaten according to their time signature. For, if Le Jeune had intended such a manner of execution, there would have been no purpose in ever using coloured notes at all.

The conclusions reached in these three sections can be summarized thus: except for du Caurroy's non-homophonic *musique mesurée* and perhaps for Le Jeune's *chansons mesurées* that contain coloured notes or *tacits* written in the ordinary way, no *musique mesurée* should be beaten or accented according to the time signature.

[81] It is known that the text of the *Pseaumes* and *Airs* of 1608 was revised with the object of making it, by adding rhymes, appear less odd. With the same object someone may have tampered with the music. It may even have been the same hands that were guilty of both: La Noue, perhaps helped by d'Aubigné, for both were amateur musicians (v. D'Aubigné, *Oeuvres*, ed. Réaume & Caussade, I, 463, 465).

[82] Le Jeune, *Airs*, 1594, fos 8, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 32.

[83] *Ibid.*, fo 29.

[84] *Ibid.*, fo 23 (also in Le Jeune, *Second Livre des Meslanges*, 1612).

[85] In the case of the last two (« Bien que soit », « Muze honorons ») this is confirmed by ordinary rests being used for the *tacits*, cf. supra note 50.

[86] *Airs*, 1608, ed. cit., N° 112.

VI.

From the conclusions we have reached so far it follows that there are not, and probably never were, any hard and fast rules for accenting *chansons mesurées*. Since there is no metrical *ictus*, no barline, and since suspensions and passing notes are used only within the limit of a syllable [87] (i. e. minim or crotchet), one must rely entirely on the inherent, implied stresses that more or less certainly and obviously exist in any succession of long and short intervals of time. In general, the musical accentuation should be made as light as possible. It was a fundamental principle of *musique mesurée* not to distort verbal or metrical rhythm, and French stresses, compared with English or German, are light and rare. Also, a modern musician accustomed to the rhythms of 18th and 19th century music, would be inclined to accent too often, too heavily, and too regularly. If this is born in mind there is usually little difficulty in finding, after a few experiments, a satisfactory way of accenting any *chanson mesurée*. But it would never be possible dogmatically to assert that this was the only correct way, especially in details. For example, there can be no doubt that the passage in Ex. 34 is of triple (3-2) rhythm. [88] But it makes sense whether one accents the first crotchet or either of the two minims. In this particular case, one can only stress the text correctly if the main accent falls on the second minim, with a secondary accent on the first crotchet. This, therefore, is the way in which it should be, and probably was, accented.

But there are many more doubtful cases. The phrase [89] in Ex. 35 is musically more natural as it is written here; yet the text cannot be correctly stressed unless the beat is a minim later (Ex. 36).

These doubtful cases make it very difficult to estimate accurately how well the text of *musique mesurée* is treated in comparison with normal music. The task would be fairly easy if it were certain that, as far as possible, the musical accentuation of *musique mesurée* was modelled on the natural stresses of the text. This was assumed to be so in the preceding paragraph, and, though there is no proof, this practice would be in accordance with one of the chief principles of musical humanism. [90] If this assumption is granted, there is no doubt that the treatment of text in *musique mesurée* is far better than that of any other kind of music with French text

[87] As regards suspensions there are a very few exceptions to this statement in Le Jeune's *Airs* of 1608, and in the *Ps. en V. M.*

[88] Mauduit, *Chansonettes*, ed. Expert, p. 30.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[90] V. Walker, *Op. cit.*, II, 295 seq.

of the same period. The *airs de cour* are notoriously bad in this respect, [91] and of polyphonic music even the *chansons* of di Lasso, who was famous for his unusually careful observance of verbal quantity and accent, [92] contain countless falsely stressed syllables. [93] Whereas, always assuming the utmost freedom of musical accentuation, it is only very rarely that in a *chanson mesurée* one is forced to stress a word wrongly, as in Ex. 37. [94]

In most cases where the poet has used a « long » syllable that cannot be naturally stressed it can remain unstressed in *musique mesurée*. For example, the frequent ending $— \breve{}$, which was always wrongly stressed as regards metrical ictus, [95] can often in *musique mesurée* be accented $— \geq$ instead of $\geq —$. [96] Another great virtue of *musique mesurée* is that an accented or prolonged e feminine can never appear, [97] a fault that occurs constantly in other music of this period.

London.

[91] V. D. P. Walker, *The Influence of Musique Mesurée on the Airs de Cour*, in *Musica Disciplina*, II, 141, 1948.

[92] V. e. g. Jacques Gohory's remarks in the Preface to Adrien Le Roy's, *A briefe and plaine Instruction to set all Musicke... in Tablature for the lute...*, London, 1574.

[93] V. e. g. Lasso, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Breitkopf & Härtel, XII, 88, sopr. 5th and 6th bars; XII 90, sopr. bar 3; XIV, 109, all parts in the last line (« qui demeure »).

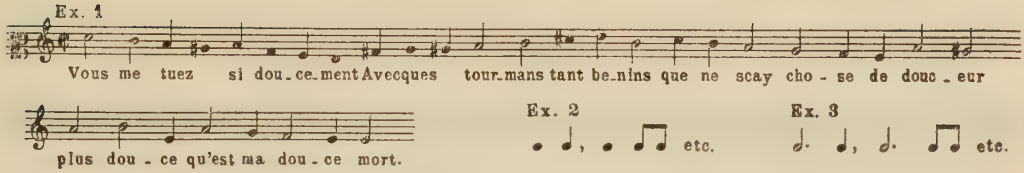
[94] Mauduit, *Chansonettes*, ed. cit., p. 46.

[95] Baif never ended a line with an e feminine; in consequence the normal stress always falls on the last syllable of the line, whereas in a spondee the *ictus* should be on the first long.

[96] This is, however, scarcely possible if the final spondee is preceded by two shorts, as in hexameters.

[97] Metrically an e feminine was never considered long under any circumstances.

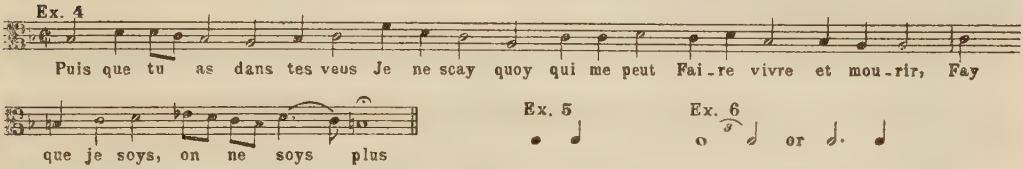
Ex. 1



Ex. 2

Ex. 3

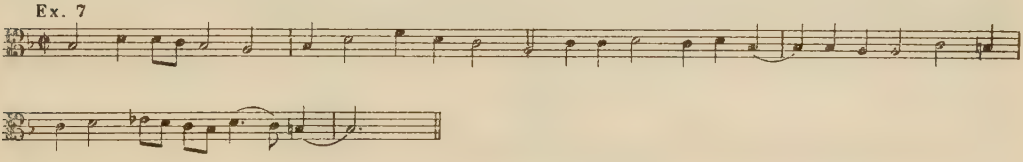
Ex. 4



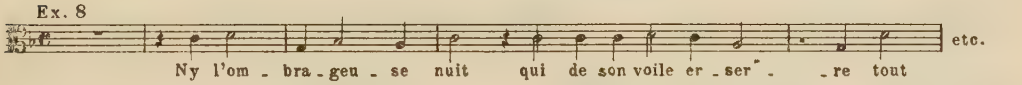
Ex. 5

Ex. 6

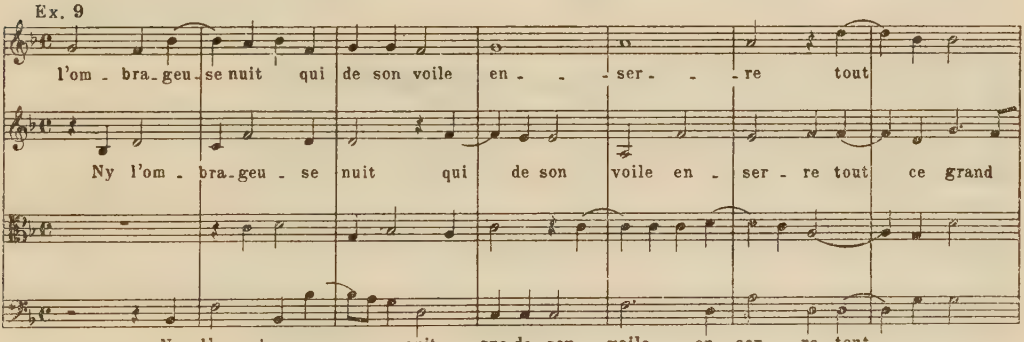
Ex. 7



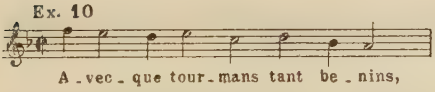
Ex. 8



Ex. 9


l'om-bra-geu-se nuit qui de son voile en-ser-re tout
Ny l'om-bra-geu-se nuit qui de son voile en-ser-re tout ce grand
Ny l'om-bra-geu-se nuit que de son voile en-ser-re tout

Ex. 10

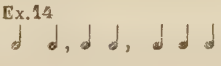


Ex. 11

Ex. 12

Ex. 13

Ex. 14



Ex. 15

Ex. 16

Ex. 17

J'aymeet je hay ni ne sa. roy ce que je hay n'ay-mer point Ni ne sa. roy ce qu'ayme plus

de le ha. ir me gar. der.

Ex. 18

Que nulle e-stoi. le sur nous Ne vien. ne plus se mon-strer que cha. que flam. be des

Cieux De hon. te va. ze ren. dant A son so-leil sa clair. té.

Ex. 19

Ex. 20

ete.

Ex. 21

Ex. 22

Ex. 23

etc.

Ex. 24

etc.

Ex. 25

Ex. 26

Ex. 27

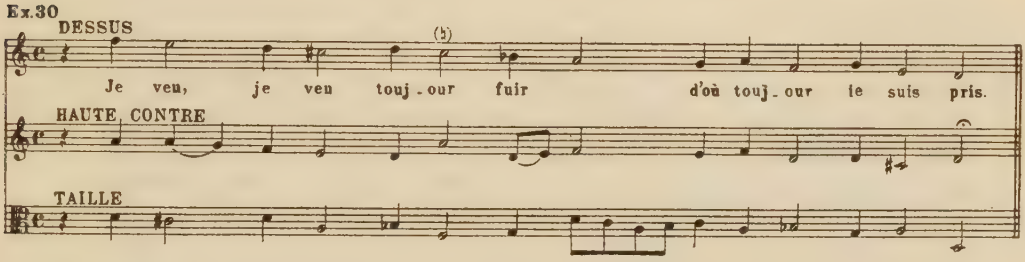
Par l'u. ni. vers ton glo. rieus pou. voir.

Ex. 28

Ly. ra si. mul et De. ca. chor. do con. cre. pan. te na. bli. is:

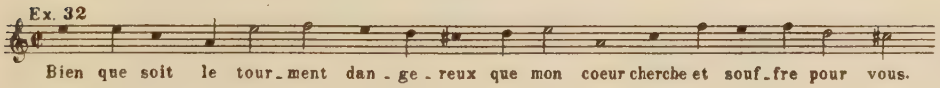
Ex. 29

Ex. 30



Ex. 31

Ex. 32



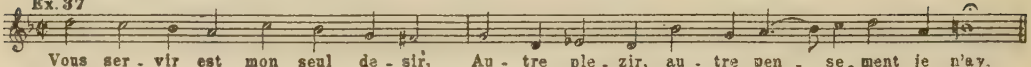
Ex. 33

Ex. 34

Ex. 35

Ex. 36

Ex. 37



LA GUITARE EN FRANCE AU XVIè SIÈCLE

FRANÇOIS LESURE (*Paris*)

Le XVIè siècle est sans doute l'époque où la musique a tenu la plus grande place dans toutes les classes de la société française. On se plait à dire que c'est aussi le siècle qui a vu s'épanouir un art proprement instrumental. Ce sont là deux présomptions qui mériteraient une démonstration attentive et circonstanciée. Hormi les *Notes sur l'histoire du luth en France* de Michel Brenet (1889) on ne dispose en effet d'aucune étude ni sur les tablatures de mandore, cistre, guitare, ni sur ces instruments eux mêmes et leur vogue respective. Or, l'habitude que l'on a prise depuis le mouvement de la Pléiade de donner au luth une prééminence très marquée a quelque peu bouché l'horizon instrumental de la Renaissance: en réalité, sous la plume des poètes et des humanistes français, le luth n'est devenu l'instrument idéal que vers le milieu du siècle et même 1560 environ. C'est seulement au début du XVIIè siècle que, selon les propres termes de Mersenne, les français mépriseront les instruments à cordes autres que le luth [1]. On voudrait montrer ici qu'un instrument tel que la guitare pouvait, par-delà les milieux académiques, jouir durant tout le XVIè siècle d'un succès considérable, ayant sa littérature et son style propres, que nous nous réservons d'ailleurs d'étudier dans un article ultérieur. Quoiqu'on en ait dit récemment [2], cet instrument possédait au temps de la Renaissance un statut artistique en dehors de la péninsule ibérique.

Cependant, pour les musiciens du XVIè siècle, il ne faisait aucun doute que la guitare fût un instrument d'origine espagnole. L'auteur de *La manière d'entoucher les Lucs et Guiternes* (Poitiers, 1556) [3] commence, selon les habitudes du temps, à rechercher l'etymologie du nom: « Je me suis autresfois

[1] *Harmonie universelle*, Traité des instruments, p. 97.

[2] G. Chase, *The music of Spain*, New-York, 1941, p. 53.

[3] Ouvrage pour lequel on a proposé différents auteurs: Bonaventure des Périers, Elie Vinet, Pelletier du Mans. Il a été réédité par Weckerlin.

mis a chercher si ceste Guiterne n'avoit point eu de nom et d'usage en la Grece et Italie anciennement, mais je n'en ay encores peu rien sçavoir, que je voulusse assurer. ...Et quant est du nom, je sçay qu'il y a des gens qui l'appellent Guiterre, et quelqu'un Quinterne, je ne scay pour quelle raison.... J'ay veu homme, qui l'ayant ouy nommer Gitarra aus Espagnols, m'a voulu fere croire que c'estoit la Cithara des anciens Gregeois: mais la figure de la Cithara, qu'on nous donne de saint Hierosme est mout diverse de cete ici »[4]. S'il faut en croire le même écrivain, ce serait vers 1540-1545 qu'il faudrait faire remonter la diffusion de la guitare en France: « En mes premiers ans, dit-il, nous usions plus (du luth) que de la Guiterne: mais despuis douze ou quinze ans en ça, tout nostre monde s'est mis a Guiterner, le Luc presque mis en obly, pour estre en la Guiterne je ne sçay quelle Musique, et icelle beaucoup plus aisée que celle la du Luc »[5]. Cette date correspond d'ailleurs fort bien avec les premières tablatures, qui sont du milieu du siècle.

Plusieurs types d'instruments sont d'ores et déja en usage. L'auteur de *La maniere d'entoucher* en note trois pour sa part: « Nostre luc a sis et sept cordes, la ou la Guiterne n'en a que quatre pour sept, sis pour onze, et sept pour treze, a cause que l'on met deus cordes pour une partout, fors au son le plus haut, qu'ils appellent la chanterelle, là ou je ne vy jamais qu'une seule corde »[6]. Ce fait nous est confirmé par la présence, dans l'atelier du facteur parisien Philippe de la Canessière (1551) de « troys guiternes, dont une a unze cordes et les deux aultres petites »[7]. En Espagne l'apparition de la guitare à six rangs précède de peu l'usage français, puisque la première mention s'en trouve dans l'*El Maestro* de Luis Milan en 1535. Néanmoins, dans le courant du XVIè siècle, une sélection s'opère. Vers 1585 l'organiste rémois Jacques Cellier nous livre un précieux dessin d'une guiterne à quatre rangs et, d'accord avec Adrian le Roy, en donne l'accord: « La grosse corde de la guiterne s'accorde avec la suivante a la quarte et la suivante avec la troizieme a la tierce avec la quarte a la quarte »[8]. On se borne désormais, comme le fait Mersenne, au début du XVIIè siècle, à décrire deux variétés de guiternes: l'ancienne à quatre rangs et celle à cinq rangs « dont on use maintenant ». Son correspondant, l'avocat bordelais Pierre Trichet, ne décrit à la même époque que ce dernier type: manche étroit garni de huit touches, cinq rangs de cordes doubles (sauf la chanterelle),

[4] P. 96-97.
[5] P. 96.
[6] P. 95.
[7] Archives nationales, Minutier central, IX, 133.
[8] Bibl. nat., ms. fr. 9152, fol. 190.

une rose centrale à laquelle les facteurs donnent un soin particulier et toutes sortes d'ornements [9].

Il est possible que dans cette véritable fièvre instrumentale qui saisit alors une grande partie de la France, aboutissant à la création d'écoles de facture d'une importance considérable, le centre lyonnais ait devancé Paris. On a beaucoup épilogué sur le rôle joué à Lyon par le célèbre luthier bavarois Gaspard Duyffoprucgar, prétendu « inventeur » du violon. En fait, plusieurs documents le concernant le font apparaitre surtout spécialisé dans la fabrication des luths et des guiternes. Un curieux procès de contrefaçon le mit aux prises avec l'un de ses collègues, Benoit Lejeune, et constitue pour nous un témoignage unique de la rigueur apportée dans le droit de propriété artistique. On trouve dans les registres de l'Audience de Lyon, à la date du 26 août 1559, l'interdiction suivante rendue au profit de Philibert Perrin, « procureur de Gaspard Duyfaultbrocard, maître faiseur de guiternes, demeurant a Lyon »: « Il a esté inhibé et deffendu... a Benoist Le Jeusne, aussi faiseur de guiternes, demeurant audit Lyon, de ne marquer les guiternes qu'il faisoit a la marque dudit Gaspard comme il avoit faict auparavant, n'estant lesdites guiternes et ouvrages de la façon, sorte, valleur et bonté que sont celles dudit Gaspard. Ce néantmoings ledit Le Jeusne... auroit faict faire plusieurs guiternes en ceste ville de Lyon et icelles marquées de la marque dudit Gaspard pour les vendre et exposer et faire vendre et exposer par ses familiers et complices a plusieurs personnes, tant en ceste ville de Lyon que allieurs, et faict plusieurs aultres actes et contraventions aux ordonnances sur ce faictes avec luy au grand préjudice dudit Gaspard et mespris de l'autorité du Roy et de sa justice ». Benoit Lejeune fut condamné et jeté en prison. Interdiction formelle lui était faite, le 7 septembre de la même année, d'user de la marque du luthier bavarois « a peine d'estre poursuivy comme faussaire, confiscation desdictes marchandises ainsi marquées et admendes arbitraires »; la marque fut elle-même déposée au greffe pour être « brisée et rompue » [10].

En plus du propre fils de Duyffoprucgar, Jean, qui poursuivit après 1570 l'oeuvre de son père, on note la présence d'un autre facteur de guiternes, Philippe Flac, protestant d'origine germanique qui exercea à Lyon entre 1567 et 1572. Il ne faut pas s'étonner de rencontrer dans cette ville-carrefour tant d'étrangers. Lyon, ville cosmopolite, est alors soumise aux

[9] Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, ms. 1070, fol. 98 v°. Ce traité, qui est à peu près contemporain de l'*Harmonie universelle*, sera édité par nos soins dans la collection de traités, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica, de l'American Institute of Musicology.

[10] Lyon, Arch. dép., série B., vol. 19.

influences combinées des pays environnants et joue de ce fait dans l'histoire musicale du XVIè s. un rôle très important.

Lorsque Robert Granjon demande un privilège pour ses impressions il songe aux « tabulatures de lutz, guiternes et autres instrumens ». Un autre imprimeur lyonnais, Simon Gorlier, publie en 1560 un *Livre de tablature de guiterne*. Mais nous ne conservons de la littérature lyonnaise pour guitare que le souvenir que nous en ont laissé les bibliographes.

Le centre parisien présente d'autres caractères et le commerce des instruments y atteint un volume beaucoup plus considérable. On a déja vu que, dès 1551, Philippe de la Canessière met en vente des guiternes. C'est l'année même où les éditeurs A. le Roy et R. Ballard font paraître leur premier recueil de tablature et une *Briefve et facile instruction pour apprendre la tabulature a bien accorder, conduire et disposer la main sur la guiterne*. En 1550, d'après Fétis, le luthiste Guillaume Morlaye, élève d'Albert de Rippe, publiait chez M. Fezandat une *Tabulature de guiterne où sont chansons, gaillardes, pavanes, branles, allemandes, fantaisies...*[11]. Et deux ans plus tard le privilège suivant lui était accordé: « Il est permis à maistre Guillaume Morlaye, ioueur de leut, d'imprimer ou faire imprimer les oeuvres de feu messire Albert de Rippe, de Mantoue, et autres oeuvres d'autres bons autheurs, qu'il a recouvertes, avec tabulature de Guiterne, ou espinette, et autres instrumens ». La vogue de l'instrument parait monter en flèche. Les membres de la corporation des joueurs d'instruments, pour satisfaire leur clientèle, doivent à leur tour s'y mettre: Nicolas Robillard, qui meurt en 1557, en utilise deux[12]; Pierre Quinoye deux également avant 1563[13]; l'inventaire après décès de Guillaume Masnet (1570) comporte aussi un de ces instruments[14]. Mais voici qui est plus probant: le facteur Claude Denis possède dans sa boutique en 1587 « 250 ais de sapin a faire guiternes... 2 guiternes d'Aubry.... I vieille guiterne d'Espagne.... 24 guiternes communes... sept colletz de guiternes »[15]. Son père, Robert Denis, a dans son atelier, deux ans plus tard, « une douzaine et demye de guiternes communes... neuf guiternes, une de Lion et deux de Hozelot, six d'Obry a teste et marquetées... neuf vieilles guiternes... treize tables de guitarres rousses et quarante-cinq blanches aussy a guitarre »[16]. Ce qui fait pour deux facteurs seulement: 76 instruments terminés et plus

[11] *Biogr. des musiciens*, t. VI, 1864, p. 205. Le bibliographe Draudius mentionne même pour la même année " plusieurs ,, livres de guitare de Morlaye.

[12] Arch. nat., Minutier central, III, 121.

[13] *Ibidem*, XIX, 280.

[14] *Ibidem*, CV, 4.

[15] Arch. nat., Min. centr., III, 194.

[16] *Ibidem*, CV, 225.

de 300 en cours de fabrication. Comme on le voit, presque tous sont de fabrication locale, sauf quelques-uns qui proviennent de Lyon et un seul d'Espagne. La plupart sont donc de Robert et Claude Denis, de Pierre Aubry († 1596), tous parisiens, et d'un certain Hozelot, que nous n'avons pu identifier. Certains se spécialisent, tels Denis Biger (ou Viger) vers 1551-53 [17] et Jacques Limosin, qui, en 1562, se dit « guyternier » comme tant d'autres se font appeler « épinetiers » [18]. Si nous pénétrons dans les intérieurs des habitations parisiennes nous n'avons pas de mal à découvrir des guiternes dans des milieux très différents: chez Nicolas Lesueur, « seigneur d'Aulny et de la Souche, conseiller et secrétaire du roi » [19], chez Martin Jacquetel, sergent a verge au Châtelet » [20]. Le fait n'est pas spécial à Paris: à Amiens chez les bourgeois de la ville la guiterne occupe à côté des instruments à clavier — épinettes et manicordions — une place de tout premier plan. Une simple liste donnera une idée des classes sociales très diverses dans lesquelles l'instrument est en honneur: une guiterne chez la femme de Jean Caron, déchargeur de vin (1553), une chez Nicolas de Caiz, marchand (1572), deux chez Nicolas Roger, mercier (1572), une chez Michel Randon, échevin (1584), sans parler des professionnels comme Pierre Salle, menuisier (1572), qui possède « quatre bois de guiterne » dans son atelier, ou Jehan de Flers, ménétrier (1554), qui en utilisait neuf à lui seul [21].

* * *

Le répertoire offert par les éditeurs était abondant et varié. Il n'en subsiste plus aujourd'hui que les cinq recueils imprimés par Le Roy et Ballard entre 1551 et 1556: quatre sont dûs à Adrian le Roy lui-même et un à un luthiste émigré d'Augsbourg, Grégoire Brayssing. En voici le détail: [22]

Premier livre de | tabulature de guiterre, conte- | nant plusieurs Chansons, Fantasies, Pavanes, Gaillardes, Alman- | des, Branles, tant simples qu'autres: | Le tout composé par | Adrian le Roy | ...12 septembre 1551 | ....

(Contient 2 fantaisies, 3 chansons et 20 danses)

Second livre de gui- | terre, contenant plusieurs chansons en | forme de

[17] E. Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notariés*, t. II, 1924, p. 456 et 547.

[18] Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 12145.

[19] Arch. nat., Min. centr., LXXXIV, 27.

[20] *Ibidem*, XVIII, 206.

[21] G. Durand, *Ville d'Amiens. Invent. sommaire des arch. comm.*, t. VI, 1911, pp. 615, 687, 688, 703, 759, 685.

[22] Il existe un exemplaire de ces recueils à la Bibl. Mazarine et au British Museum. La *Bibl. franc.* de La Croix du Maine dit à l'article A. le Roy: "Il a mis en tablature de guitarre les psalmes de David„.

voix de ville: nouvellement remises en tabulature, / par Adrian le Roy. / ...5 janvier / 1555 [23]....

(Contient 22 chansons).

Tiers livre de tabu- / lature de guiterre, conte- / nant plusieurs Préludes, Chansons, Basses-dances, Tour- / dions, Pavanes, Gaillardes, Almandes, Bransles, tant / doubles que simples, Le tout composé par / Adrian le Roy. / ...1552....

(Contient 2 préludes, 3 chansons et de nombreuses danses).

Quart livre de tabu- / lature de guiterre, contenant / plusieurs Fantasies, Pseaulmes, et Chansons: avec L'alouette, & la Guerre, / Composées par M. Gregoire Brayssing deaugusta... / 1553....

(Contient 6 fantaisies, 5 psaumes et 9 chansons).

Ce dernier recueil appelle quelques commentaires sur son auteur, dont la personnalité n'a jamais été dégagée. Le titre indique que le compositeur est originaire d'Augsbourg (*Augusta*). Entre 1553 et 1560 au moins son activité se situe à Paris. En 1553 il est « maitre joueur de lucz » et demeure rue Macon [24]. Par la suite on le trouve en relation avec d'illustres compositeurs: en 1556 il est parrain d'un enfant d'Etienne du Tertre [25]; en 1560 d'une fille de Loys Bourgeois, arrivé depuis quelques années de Genève [26]. Mais Brayssing, d'accord avec ses éditeurs, nous donne un plus précieux renseignement sur ses origines en marge de la dernière pièce du recueil, « La guerre faite a plaisir »: *Veldt schlacht wieder loblicher Chùrfurst herizogk Iohans Friderich von Sachsen vor Mùlberg gefangen ist worden.* Si l'on se souvient que l'électeur protestant Jean-Frédéric de Saxe fut vaincu et fait prisonnier par Charles-Quint en 1547 à Mulhberg, on pourra aisément reconstituer les sympathies religieuses de Brayssing.

Cinquiesme livre de gui- / terre, contenant plusieurs chansons a trois / & quatre parties, par bons & excelens Musiciens: Reduites en Tabu- / lature par Adrian le Roy. / ...6 Decembre / 1554....

(Contient 20 chansons).

Cet ensemble de plus de 120 pièces mériterait une étude systématique, plus au point de vue des formes que de l'harmonie. Le caractère du *Second livre* (« voix de ville ») est très différent de celui des habituelles anthologies pour luth, contenant des pièces à forme libre (fantaisies) et à forme plus

[23] 1556 en nouveau style.

[24] Il est en rapports d'affaires avec Raoul Spifame, conseiller du roi, avec lequel il passe une obligation de 115 l. t., le 30 juin (Arch. nat., Min. centr., C, 48).

[25] Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 12.100.

[26] Nouv. acq. fr. 12.124. Voir à ce sujet le compte-rendu de l'étude de P.-A. Gaillard concernant Loys Bourgeois, que j'ai donné dans la *Revue de musicologie*, 1948, p. 98.

ou moins fixe (transcriptions de chansons, de psaumes et de danses). C'est à ce dernier genre que se rattachent, par contre, les quatre autres livres. La popularité de certains thèmes, communs à la guitare, au luth et au cistre[27], y apparait d'évidence. On citera, par exemple, *La muniere de Vernon* (Janequin), *O combien est heureuse*, *Une m'avoit promis* et *Puisque nouvelle affection*, qui sont traités à la fois pour cistre et guitare. Les danses connaissent une vogue encore plus universelle; ainsi la pavane *J'ay du mal tant tant* est inscrite en même temps à la table du *Tiers livre* de guitare, du *Quart livre de tablature de luth* d'Albert de Rippe (1553) et du *Second livre de cistre* d'Adrian le Roy (1564), à chaque fois accompagnée de sa gaillarde. Les souvenirs de Thoineau Arbeau sont bien fidèles lorsqu'il écrit vers la fin du siècle: « A Orléans quant nous donnions des aulbades nous avions tousjours sur nos lutz et guiternes la gaillarde appelée la Romanesque »[28]. C'est en effet un thème que l'on retrouve en manuscrit, à la fin des recueils de guitare de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, dans le *Quart livre* de Rippe et dans les deux recueils pour cistre d'Adrian le Roy.

A noter l'abondance des « diminutions », surtout dans les *Premier* et *Tiers livre*: presque chaque pièce est suivie des mots « Autrement » ou « Plus diminué » et traité en valeurs plus brèves.

* * *

Au dire d'écrivains un peu malveillants, la guitare doit l'essentiel de son succès à la facilité de son jeu. Le XVIè s. ne parait pas avoir connu de guitaristes spécialisés; la plupart, comme on vient de le voir, sont avant tout des luthistes. Tandis qu'au XIVè siècle — du temps de la guitare latine et de la guitare moresque — les Cours princières s'attachaient des guitaristes attitrés, les Comptes de l'époque de la Renaissance ne mentionnent jamais de tels instrumentistes.

Le second motif de dénigrement invoqué par les critiques du temps est une certaine mode hispanisante, dont nous avons déja vu les échos par l'auteur de *La maniere d'entoucher*, qui avertit ironiquement ses lecteurs qu'ils trouveront « aujourd'hui plus de guiterneurs en France qu'en Espa-

[27] Arian Le Roy publia en 1564 et 1565 un *Second livre de cistre, contenant les Commandemens de Dieu... et autres oeuvres faciles* et une *Breve et facile instruction pour apprendre la tablature, a bien accorder, conduire, et disposer la main sur le cistre*, qui sont conservés en exemplaires uniques à la bibliothèque de Trèves.

[28] *Orchésographie*, rééd. Fonta, p. 52.

gne »[29]. En 1556 ce n'est encore qu'une boutade qui ne cache aucun sentiment réprobateur à l'égard de l'instrument et de ceux qui en jouent. Mais la théorie humanistique, entrainée par le prestige de Ronsard et des chantres du luth, instrument des dieux, va faire son oeuvre. Au début du XVIIè siècle le guitariste est souvent considéré comme un singe des espagnols: dans le ballet des *Fées des forests de Saint-Germain* (1625) on assiste, par exemple, à l'« Entrée des espagnols joueurs de guitaire », qui sont vêtus de costumes grotesques à plumages et couleurs voyantes[30]. Quant à Pierre Trichet, qui réside à Bordeaux et comme tel se trouve bien placé pour tout ce qui touche au pays voisin, son témoignage est des plus caractéristiques. En voici les principaux passages: « La guiterre ou guiterne est un instrument de musique grandement usité parmi les français et italiens, mais encore davantage parmi les espagnols, qui les premiers l'ont mise en vogue, et qui s'en scavent plus follastrement servir qu'aucune autre nation, ayant une adresse particulière à chanter et sonner leurs sarabandes, gaillardes, espagnolettes, passemezes, passecailles, pavanes, alemandes et romanesques avec mille gestes et mouvements du corps autant crotesques et ridicules, que leur jeu est bigearre et confus. L'on trouve néantmoings en France des courtisans et des dames qui se rendant singes des espagnols taschent de les imiter, monstrant bien qu'ils s'aggréent plus aux choses estrangères qu'à celles qui leur sont naturelles et domestiques. En quoi ils resemblent à ceux la qui, pouvant faire bonne chere en leur propre maison, aiment mieux aller manger chés autrui du lard, des oignons et du pain bis. Car qui ne scait que le luth est propre et familier aux français et qu'il est le plus agréable de tous les instruments musicaux ? Toutesfois quelques-uns de nostre nation le quittent tout à faict pour prendre et apprendre le jeu de la guiterre. N'est-ce pas à cause qu'il est plus aisé de s'y perfectionner qu'au jeu du luth, qui requiert un long et assidu estude avant d'y pouvoir acquérir quelque addresse et disposition recommandable ? Ou bien est-ce à cause que la guiterre a je ne scai quoi d'efféminé qui leur plaist et leur flatte le coeur et les rend enclins aux voluptés ?... Je ne doubte pas pourtant que la musique ne puisse fournir d'autres moyens capables de rendre le jeu de la guiterre plus masle et plus vigoureux, et de lui donner quelque nouvelle grace. Mais il faut attendre la production d'un tel bien et se contenter cependant des inventions journalières des musiciens de nostre temps, qui s'estudient selon leur capacité de faire des recerches sur la guiterre pour l'orner davantage». Et enfin la théorie désormais classique sur la musique des anciens et ses

[29] P. 96. On notera avec interêt que c'est à Paris en 1626, chez P. Ballard, que le guitariste espagnol Louis de Briceneo publia en espagnol un livre de guitare.

[30] Bibl. nat., Yf 8380.

« effets »: « Si les anciens qui nous ont devancé de plusieurs siècles eussent cogneu la guiterre, ceux qui escrivoint lors n'eussent à mon advis oublié de faire mention dans leurs livres de son nom, de sa forme, de son usage, et des effects qu'elle pouvait produire »[31].

Ces caricatures tardives, répétons-le, sont le fait d'une poignée d'humanistes. Il reste qu'à partir de 1540 environ la guitare connait en France une grande vogue, aussi bien dans les classes nobles que chez les bourgeois les plus modestes, et à laquelle contribuent les plus fameux instrumentistes du temps. Lyon et surtout Paris se font les propagateurs de l'instrument mais le simple sondage effectué pour Amiens aurait sans doute rencontré le même succès dans beaucoup d'autres régions; et, contrairement à la plupart des instruments à cordes, c'est la production locale qui alimente presque entièrement le marché français.

Le Pouldu (*Finistère*).

[31] Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, ms 1070, fol. 98.

CORRECTIONS FOR VOL. IV, FASC. 1:

Gombosi, *Gothic Form:*

Page 48, line 2: The musical examples were printed up-side down.

Carapetyan, *A 14th-century Florentine Treatise:*

Page 81, note 2: to the list of Mss add - Florence, Bibl. naz. Panciatichi 26.

Page 83; Delete lines 19 and 20, repetition of the note on the preceding page.

Page 86, line 5: for « the writer of the *Ars nova* » read « the writers of *Ars nova* ».

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This list comprises publications of more or less scientific nature — books, articles, editions of music — related to the period dealt with by the present periodical. The list covers the year 1949-1950, but in some instances includes works published earlier.

The Bibliography is prepared by the collaboration of Leonard Ellinwood, Washington, D. C.; François Lesure, Paris; Albert van der Linden, Brussels; Nino Pirrotta, Rome; Bruno Stäblein, Regensburg.

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Abbreviations:

RBM = Revue belge de Musicologie. Bruxelles.
Sch = De Schalmei, Gand.

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Abbreviations:

RMI = Rivista musicale italiana.

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Liber Sancti Jacobi, Codex Calixtinus. Santiago de Compostela, 1944. 3 vols. I Texto tr. de Walter Muir Whitehead. II Musica, tr. por G. Prado. III Estudios.

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the Mss Paris, Bibl. nat., ital. *568* and London, British Mus. Add. *29987*, Egidio and Guglielmo di Francia and instrumental dances from London, British Mus. Add. *29987*.

2) Francesco Landini;

3) The composers of Northern Italy: Anonymous pieces from the Ms Rossi *215*, Piero, Jacopo da Bologna, Bartolino da Padova, Grazioso, Bartolomeo, Prep. brixiensis, Matteo da Perugia, Engardo, Bart. da Bologna, others, with a supplement containing anonymous pieces from Prague, Univ.-Bibl. XI. E *9* and Bologna, Univ. *2216*.

4) The composers of Central Italy: Vincenzo da Rimini, Nicolò da Perugia, Zacaria, Zacara da Teramo, Antonello da Caserta, Nicolaus de Capua, with a supplement containing anonymous pieces from the Lucca Ms.

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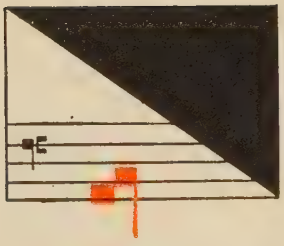

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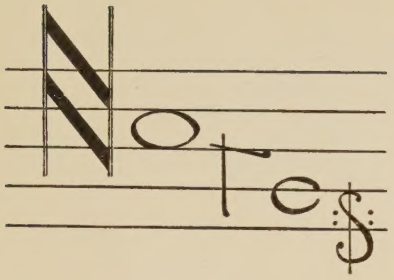

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